

Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art

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Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art

By

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University of Reading



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To the memory of Miriam and Norman Balmuth

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BIBLIOGRAPHY & ABBREVIATIONS

This is a comprehensive bibliography of secondary sources that appear in the text and/or catalogue, where they are cited with the last name of the author and year of publication.

Bibliographic abbreviations for journals and reference works are those observed by the editors of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. I have added an abbreviation commonly used in ceramic and iconographic studies, namely UKV = Schefold, K., 1934: *Untersuchungen zu den kertscher vasen* (Berlin). 'Sch.' refers to a scholiast's commentary on the ancient source cited.

Throughout the text, I use a unique catalogue number to refer to each object in the catalogue at the back of this volume. Each catalogue number has a prefix of letters that denote the material (DR=Document reliefs, R=Miscellaneous reliefs, MP=Monumental paintings, S=Statuary, and VP=Vase paintings). In the catalogue itself each object is listed also with its city, museum, and museum inventory number. There I have abbreviated the most commonly mentioned museums as follows:

Agora: Agora Museum (Athens)
AM: Akropolis Museum (Athens)
BM: The British Museum (London)
EM: Epigraphic Museum (Athens)
MMA: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
NM: National Archaeological Museum (Athens)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: VIEWING PERSONIFICATIONS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

The Hamilton Vase, **VP 26 (fig. 1.1)** meets modern expectations of Classical Greek art: naturalistically proportioned horses and human figures; youthful heroes and pretty women mingling with gods; palmettes and meanders surrounding them; even the image of a stiff Archaic statue. Indeed it must have played a role in the creation of 'our' expectations: it was Lord Hamilton's favourite from among the thousands of Greek vases he collected in the vicinity of Naples at the end of the 18th century. The figural scenes on this large *hydria* (water jar), which has been on display at the British Museum since 1772, continue to entertain, inform, and puzzle us. A student of Greek myth finds on it the rape of the daughters of Leukippos at the hands of the Dioskouroi, an event that culminates in a double wedding (**fig. 1.2, top**). An iconographer will wonder further at the seeming conflation of rape/abduction and marriage in this and many other mythic tales, such as Peleus' abduction of Thetis resulting in the union that bore Akhilleus (see, e.g., **VP 18**). The archaeologist seeking a connection between image and function will regularly find such abduction/rape/wedding scenes on large vessels associated with feasting—namely kraters, *dinoi*, and *hydriai*—and wonder about the use and appropriateness of such scenes in the context of wedding feasts (Stewart, 1983: 69 speculates along the same lines with regard to the great François Krater in Florence; for *hydriai* with wedding iconography see Oakley & Sinos, 1993:6, 15-16; Krauskopf, 1977). A scholar of ancient religion finds sacrilege: Leukippos' daughters are literally torn from an ancient shrine where they have sought refuge. The ancient historian must look harder for an Athenian angle (this vase was, after all, made in Athens): in the lower register, which continues around the back (**fig 1.3**), four

of Athens' ten 'eponymous' tribal heroes (Akamas, Hippothoon, Antiokhos, Oineus) stand near Medea, the wife of another eponymous hero and earlier king of Athens (Aigeus): Medea?!

The Hamilton Vase defies modern expectations of Classical Athenian culture. How and why should one vase allude to more than one mythic tale? Why are some figures active and others static, almost emblematic? Why did the painter mix eponymous heroes with other heroes, even Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides? Why is Medea, the Barbarian sorceress, shown without her husbands, Aigeus and Jason? Where is *her* chariot?

The Meidias Painter, as scholars have come to call the painter of this vase, may have thought that his audiences, present and future, would be satisfied with the beauty of the 'Hamilton Vase' and wouldn't worry much about iconography. Perhaps this artist enjoyed defying the expectations of those who looked a little deeper. Like most painted Attic (Athenian) vases this vase could be 'read' on many levels, by different audiences. For the few readers of Greek in his (as in our) society he went one step farther and labelled each of its 27 human figures. Unfortunately the labels, added in white clay that has almost entirely rubbed off, confuse rather than clarify (see, for example, the 'ghost' of the white label for Eudaimonia on **VP 28: fig.15.5**). Why is Kastor's 'wife' named 'Eriphyle' (not 'Phoebe' as Apollodoros tells us in his *Bibliothēke* 3.117)? What does Agave (between Zeus and Aphrodite, **fig. 1.2, left**) have to do with the rape? Is Peitho (Persuasion) running away from the altar that she shared with Aphrodite or is she fleeing from the rape (**fig. 1.2, right**)? And why does Hygieia (Health) sit among the Athenian heroes (**fig. 1.3, left**)?

This book investigates the role of civic personifications—figures like Peitho and Hygieia—in Classical Athenian art and therefore directly addresses my last two questions about the Hamilton Vase and many similar questions about the role of personifications in the visual arts of Athens. Peitho and Hygieia are personifications, representations of abstractions (or things or places) in human form. Both represent personal virtues that benefited the community as a whole, and are therefore called ‘civic’. This is why, in part, they were worshipped at Athens, with Aphrodite Pandemos (Aphrodite of all the People), in its period of independent democracy (508–322), which nearly coincides with the Classical period (480–323) in Greek art. The importance of these virtues in civic and private affairs underlines their relevance at weddings and their appropriateness on such a ‘wedding vase’. Whether or not they received worship, however, such ‘civic’ virtues abound in the art of the Meidian Painter and his associates in the last quarter of the fifth century. In isolation these Meidian images of Aphrodite and attendants, in the so-called ‘gardens of Aphrodite,’ are a puzzling phenomenon, but they are part of a larger trend: Classical Attic (Athenian) artists increasingly used personifications of civic virtues, events, institutions, and even places to remark on their *polis* or “citizen state” (for definitions of *polis* see Balot, 2006: 2; Vlassopoulos, 2007: 13–14). As in literature, personifications are invented and discarded *ad hoc*, inhabit the middle ground between gods, heroes, and humans, and are therefore adaptable to any narrative situation. The artists seem to have been successful: by the fourth century personifications became entwined in myth, religion, and politics, important in their own right, and recognisable to the general public. This book examines how Athenian artists used personifications to say something about their *polis*. What emerges is a chart of their experiments, creativity, and ultimate success, one that I hope may open up paths for further explorations of the use of personifications, political art, and Athenian artists.

I define personification as the representation of a thing, place, or abstraction as a person, where

person may be human, mythical, and/or divine. This study focuses on those personifications whose human forms, whether labeled or not, were deliberately used as the literal representations of non-human entities, *i.e.*, personifications named after the concepts they represent. The qualification ‘literal’ draws a line between true personifications and Greek mythic characters (i) whose names were originally derived from nouns representing their spheres of influence—for example, Zeus, the sky god, whose name is related to the Indo-European word for sky; or (ii) who were used as mere symbols of things or ideas without any etymological connection—for example, Poseidon, who symbolised the sea because of his identity as the sea god. While an ancient Greek may not have marked a sharp line between different types of symbolic characters, such a retrospective analysis can help us to understand the different ways in which Greek artists achieved symbolic expression. My definition of personification is intended to be inclusive insofar as I do not reject figures as personifications on the basis of their mythic or deific roles. I aim rather to draw attention to the fact that the artists distinguished them—with names as well as appearances, contexts, and other attributes—as something different from the other characters, whether divine or mortal. They have been traditionally called personifications so that is the name that I use for them.

The identifying features of a personification in the visual arts are its human form and attributes that may be used to indicate what it represents. By attributes I do not refer just to details of appearance, clothes, and objects held, but also to gestures, companions (one is judged by the company s/he keeps), and of course labels. Gestures, companions and labels might also distinguish personifications from gods and humans, despite the human form that they share. With few exceptions, personifications in Classical Athens dress like Athenian men and women, each wrapped in a *himation* or robe. With or without the *himation*, females generally wear the generic lightweight garment known as the *chiton*. These personifications are often, but not exclusively, identified by labels. Aristoteles seems to have

referred to earlier (Archaic) paintings when he famously claimed “unless they were inscribed, one would not know what each thing was” (*Topoi* 140a20-22).¹ Words have been found on less than 1.3% (i.e. no more than 1000) of all Attic painted vases, according to the Beazley Archive Database (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>) and artist’s signatures and *kalos* inscriptions, not labels, account for the greatest amount of these words. The survival rate of labels on all ancient art works must therefore be very small. Yet labels weren’t necessarily needed or used, given the levels of literacy in Classical Athens. I am in general agreement with John Boardman’s argument that “reading aloud was irrelevant to any decision to provide inscriptions on vases, and pointless for most;... painters’ choices of inscriptions, even some tags, seem to have been carefully premeditated in only a minority of cases” (Boardman, 2003: 112). I will return to the connection between labels and literacy at the end of chapter two.

Personifications in ancient Greece were most prevalent in Athens during its democratic period (508-322), when Athenian artists created and depicted—in increasing numbers—personifications with political implications: geographical and political divisions as well as civic institutions, festivals, virtues, and other concepts. Athens’ democracy was established in 508, but its revolutionary effects were not fully implemented until the Greek victories over the Persians at Salamis, Plataiai, and Mykale (480/79). The chronological focus of my study is therefore the art historical period known as the Classical period (480-323), which witnessed the rise and fall of Athens’ empire as well as her democracy. In this period, personifications appeared in many Athenian arts, ranging from wall paintings by the most talented artists—whose works were celebrated by writers hundreds of years later—to cartoon-like scenes carved by unknown craftsmen on stone. Painted vases constitute most of our evidence. This is perhaps an accident of archaeological preserva-

tion yet attests to the creative use that Athenian craftsmen made of painted pottery.

The relevance of literature in the study of personifications

While I consider poetic counterparts and other literary evidence in this study, where it is relevant to the individual personifications or to the themes that they seem to address, I do not focus on personifications that are exclusive to the literary arts. The literary tradition is relevant primarily because poetry provides us with abundant examples of Greek personifications. Many poetic personifications—Homeros’ *Litai* (Prayers) in *Ilias* 9.503-505, for example—predate their visual counterparts. There is a surprising disparity between the use of personifications in literary and visual arts: the few who are popular in both realms, such as *Peitho*, appear differently in each. Personifications in drama would have had a visual impact through their presentation on stage. The greatest overlap between literary and visual personifications is found—as might be expected—in old comedy. Comedy, less constrained by tradition than tragedy, enjoyed greater freedom to invent characters and scenes that might reveal “the social currents running beneath the surface of public and official discourse” (Henderson, 1990: 313; see also Silk, 2000: 306-349; Heath, 1987). These comic poets seem to have shared this freedom with Attic vase painters, who were likewise influenced by current trends in their creation of figures and scenes, mythic or otherwise. Especially in Athens’ democratic period, all artists—painters, sculptors, and writers—might have been expected “to seek to influence public thinking about matters of major [i.e. public] importance” through their creativity and invention (Henderson, 1990: 271; see also Vickers, 2008). As in any democracy, art cannot be expected to have either ignored politics or ‘spoken’ for the government.

Written sources are also our best evidence for the messages delivered through the use of visual personifications. They provide the little

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

biographical information that we have for the artists (mostly for sculptors and wall painters). Some sources suggest the artists' intentions, such as Plinius's report of Agorakritos's contest with Alkamenes regarding the cult statue of Rhamnousian Nemesis, S 2 (see the discussion in chapter four, 43-44). The nearly complete absence of biographical data for Attic vase painters, however, prohibits us from concluding that civic personifications in vase painting, for example, were motivated by a partisan spirit. Written sources help us to gauge the political and historical circumstances that motivated the appearance of personifications in other arts, like the paintings that showed Alkibiades with personifications (MP 3-4) and the cult statue of Eirene (S 4).

Civic and political

It is an interesting fact that personifications in Classical Athenian art are mainly of civic or political phenomena, as I have noted above: virtues, political institutions and divisions, festivals, and geographical entities. The virtues are those of the good citizens of democratic Athens and not those of the aristocracy that governs before the Classical period nor those of the monarchies that rule in later periods. The political divisions and institutions are those that were created to enable democracy at Athens. The festivals are a mixture of old and new, but were seen in the Classical period as aspects of life that both ensured and reinforced a democratic society. Whether at the heart of the *polis* or on the periphery, the geographic entities helped Athenians to contextualise their civic and political experience.

Why should this be so? Increasing politicisation characterises both the visual arts of ancient Athens and the Athenian use of personifications. That is to say, throughout the Classical period, art—with or without personifications—becomes increasingly political, especially at Athens (see Hölscher, 1998: 155). At the same time personifications also become increasingly political. In the early Classical period the occasional political personification—Ananke, Eleusis, and perhaps

Eurymedon—was subtle, experimental, and even unique, as I explain in chapter two. Local personifications that suggested the breadth of Athens' power predominated in the period before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431). These and other 'prewar' personifications were allusive. In the era of the Peloponnesian War 'political' personifications grew in number and popularity. They predominated on 'wedding vases', by which I refer to the full range of vases used or given as gifts at weddings in ancient Athens, not just the *loutrophoroi* and *lebetes gamikoi* that were exclusively used for wedding rituals. Such vases had the benefit of being simultaneously private and public: privately purchased or commissioned works that were publicly viewed. Beautiful and thus unobjectionable to those who were not interested in (or did not understand) further levels of meaning, these vases were common enough that they became easily recognisable and consistent. The message, if any, was probably not yet obvious. Shortly after the onset of the Peloponnesian War, however, there was a marked increase in the representation of personifications of political entities, which were occasionally used in allegorical compositions together with local personifications. Some had been personified in literature and received worship in Attika in the Archaic period, but were not represented in politically allusive (or explicit) art until the era of the Peloponnesian War. Meanwhile artists invented many new personifications, some of whom match current political ideas. If our 'modern' readings of the monuments—informed to large degree by the writings of later writers—are correct, by the fourth century the Athenian audience was adept not just at identifying a personification but also at perceiving how and why personifications were civic, i.e. relating to the activities of the state. The nature of fourth century political personifications, and the monuments on which they appeared, likewise reflect the increasingly complex and vulnerable situation in which Athens found herself after her economic and political decline resulting from her loss in the Peloponnesian War (404). While the personifications are not the only vehicle through which civic and

political are expressed in Athenian art, they are an important subcategory of ‘political’ art, and a history of their evolution might be one episode in the effort to understand how and why art became political.

In considering this group of personifications I neither interpret them as partisan nor argue that they constitute political art *per se* (Castriota, 1992). I therefore prefer to use the modern term ‘civic’ rather than ‘political’ because ‘civic’ avoids the connotation of ‘partisan’ that pervades our modern sense of ‘political.’ The Oxford definition of political, “of, belonging, or pertaining to the state or body of citizens, its government and policy, especially in civil and secular affairs,” comes close to the understanding of political phenomena found in Classical Athenian texts (OED 2: 1974). Robert Dahl has more narrowly defined a political system as “any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power, or authority” (Dahl, 1991: 10). The sense of this definition echoes Aristoteles’ assertion that man is a ‘political animal’, i.e. the “animal that lives in cities,” ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον (e.g. *Politika* 1253a2; see also Vlassopoulos, 2007: 77). Yet it avoids issues of territoriality and self-sufficiency that were essential elements of Aristoteles’ understanding of *polis*, ἡ πόλις, and (as a derivative) political associations. Hansen and Nielsen’s definition of *polis* recognises Aristoteles’ dual use of the word (e.g., in *Politika* 1276a17-27) to refer to the settlement as well as the community:

The *polis* was a small, highly institutionalised and self-governing community of citizens (called *politai* or *astoi*) living with their wives and children in an urban centre (also called *polis* or, sometimes, *asty*) and its hinterland (called *khora* or *ge*) together with two other types of people: free foreigners (*xenoi*, often called *metoikoi*) and slaves.

(Hansen and Nielsen, 2004: 17)

Aristoteles’ πολιτικός, which in Greece meant “pertaining to the city,” cannot be translated into the polyvalent English word ‘political’ (Rosler, 2005: 69, 174-176; Adkins, 1991: 75-93). This πολιτικός comes closer to our ‘civic,’ as does another Aris-

totelian phrase, τὰ τῆς πόλεως, “things that influenced or commented on the internal or external affairs of a state” (Platon, *Protagoras* 318e; see also Platon, *Apologia* 20b). Robert Connor has suggested that we “cast the net [more] widely” than the narrow (modern) sense of political, but look rather at aspects of ‘civil society’ in researching Athens’ democratic culture (Connor, 1996; see also Henderson, 1993: 316, who also encourages us further to broaden our definition of civic life). In my use of the term ‘civic’ I refer to this wider sense of ‘political’ as “a field of activity in which power is exercised and contested and in which collective forms of ‘association and dissociation’ are realized” (Balot, 2006: 2; see also Meier, 1990: 4).

Whereas the civic relevance of personified events, institutions, and places is clear enough, the classification of a virtue as ‘civic’ is more subjective. In elucidating whether a personification was seen as a ‘civic virtue’ in Classical Athens I have been guided by three criteria: (1) Do our sources indicate that the virtue was necessary for the successful operation of the *polis*? (2) Was s/he worshipped or otherwise connected in a cult that ensured the smooth running of the *polis* (notably that of Aphrodite Pandemos)? (3) Was s/he connected in religion, literature, and/or art with other civic virtues? Some personifications, such as Ploutos (Wealth), are not political in their own right but became political by association with explicitly political personifications, as I explain first in chapter two. Civic virtues such as those in the ‘circle of Aphrodite (Pandemos)’ pertained simultaneously to individuals, families, *oikoi*, clans, *demes*,² and the *polis*. As attested by Aristoteles and others these virtues were the glue that brought social groups together in a *polis*, whether through marriage or other alliances (see *Politika*,

² Throughout this work I use the Anglicised term *deme* (plural *demes*) to refer to the neighbourhoods of Attika, rather than the Greek word, *demos* (plural *demoi*), so as to avoid confusion between the neighbourhoods (*demes*) and their populaces (*demoi*). The names of all personifications are capitalized but not italicized. Where personifications appear in Greek passages I transliterate each name and include an English translation in brackets, to facilitate intelligibility.

book 1, especially 1280b33-39). In his attempt to understand the virtues Democratic Athenians actually used to praise individuals, David Whitehead has identified the ten most prominent civic virtues in the epigraphic sources (Whitehead, 1993: 65): *andragathia* (bravery), *arete* (goodness), *dikaiosyne* (righteousness), *epimeleia* (diligence), *eunoia* (goodwill), *eusebeia* (piety), *eutaxia* (discipline), *philotimia* (ambition), *prothymia* (eagerness) and *sophrosyne* (prudence). Alas, none of these are personified in the visual record, except Arete (see **S 9** and **VP 18**) and perhaps Eutaxia (on **DR 41**, which is, however, an honorary decree). Whereas Whitehead's virtues are mainly individual virtues, nouns that derive from human actions—literally from the verbs ἀνδραγαθέω, ἐπιμελέομαι, εὐνοέω, εὐσεβέω, εὐτακτέω, φιλοτιμέομαι, προθυμέομαι, and σωφρονέω—the personified virtues that occupy the present work are more fundamental concepts that might on occasion be practiced by individuals but that, more broadly, characterise a civilised society. The overlap between these two categories of virtues is found only in *dikaiosyne*—whose simpler counterpart, *dike*, is personified from the Archaic period—and *arête*, a word that is in any case synonymous with virtue.

The sources provide conflicting accounts on the position of civic virtues in cultic and mythic systems. Some ancient writers, for example, Hermesianax (Pausanias 9.35.5) numbered civic virtues such as Peitho (Persuasion) among the Kharites (Graces). Hesiodos agrees, but elsewhere lists other virtues—Dike (Justice), Eirene (Peace), and Eunomia (Good Order)—as the Horai (Seasons) (Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 72, *Theogonia* 901-902; Pindaros, *Olympionike* 13.7-9 repeats this genealogy; see also Pausanias 9.35.1). And to complicate matters further, Hesiodos and others conflate the Kharites with Horai: Hesiodos connects Peitho with both groups in his description of Pandora (*Erga kai hemerai* 73-74; *Theogonia* 573; see also Pindaros fr. 123.14 Snell-Mähler.). The late 4th century CE orator Themistius names Eunomia as one of the Kharites rather than as one of the Horai (Themistius, *Orationes* 6 [*Peri philanthropias*] 79c10). Of the manifold sources

on Kharites (MacLachlan, 1993: 41-55), however, only a few focus on the Athenian grouping: following Pausanias (9.35.1-3), the names of the Kharites at Athens are those of personifications—Auxo (Growth), Hegemone (Leader), and later Thallo (Blossoming), who was earlier one of the Horai, along with Karpo (Harvest) (Habicht, 1982: 89).

Both of these groups—Kharites and Horai—were worshipped on the Akropolis at Athens, probably because they are fertility deities. They are certainly connected with Aphrodite who was worshipped in a variety of settings on the Akropolis (as discussed in further detail in chapter five, 51-53; see also Pala, 2010). Nymphe (Bride) also had a shrine on the slopes of the Akropolis, which was connected with Aphrodite and, not surprisingly, was visited by brides. Was this Nymphe alone or one of several nymphs (Larson, 2001: 1-8 and 110-112)? And, if several, were these nymphs in any way connected with the worship of Demos and the Nymphs (called “Demos and the Kharites” from the 3rd century)? Ploutarkhos lists Peitho, the Kharites, and even the Muses as spirits revered by newlyweds (Ploutarkhos, *Ethika* 138c-d). As Jennifer Larson notes, “The Muses, Kharites, and Horai are groups closely allied to the nymphs, and they fulfill under other names many of the functions otherwise attributed to nymphs (e.g., causing the crops to ripen or producing inspiration)” (Larson, 2001: 7). They are all companions of Aphrodite, fertility spirits, and relevant to marriage. Some are also worshipped with Artemis, Demos, and others. Clearly the cultic, mythic, and civic roles of these virtues were constantly changing. What the sources provide is only a snapshot of the complex relations of primary and secondary divinities, nymphs, heroes, and humans in Greek religion. Personifications also played a part in this supernatural cast of characters.

Why might these virtues and other personifications play roles in Athenian myth and religion as well as politics? In ancient Greece myth provided a compelling lens through which the Greeks viewed their politics and history; it was not merely a way of describing religious phe-

nomena. Theseus, the hero and legendary king of Athens, for example, is credited with unifying the people of Attika. At the same time, according to the historian Thukydides (2.15.1-2) and the travel writer Pausanias (1.22.3), Theseus set up a cult of Aphrodite Pandemos (Aphrodite of all the People) and Peitho on the slopes of the Athenian Akropolis. The archaeological evidence suggests that Theseus might stand for the 6th-century statesman Kleisthenes in this mythical account. Myth and/or religion also furnished an excellent canvas on which artists could display personifications, especially those relevant to the *polis*, around which religious activity was organised. The art might then relate to religion, politics, history, or myth, or several of these aspects of Greek life simultaneously. Certainly this was the case with drama, itself a part of the *polis* religion. Jeffrey Henderson rightly points out that "...the comic festivals were an arm of the *polis* religion and an inheritance from the sacrosanct ritual past, and so arguably had greater status, informative power and effect than do modern media and the press" (Henderson, 1993: 319). Although some personifications moved out of the mythic spheres to tell their own stories—Harmonia, for example, is shown as the quintessential bride anticipating her wedding in a scene on VP 19 that omits Kadmos, her betrothed, or any reference to his myth—artists alternated between mythic, religious, and other settings, depending on the function of the art work. The inevitable overlap seems to have suited the artists in catering to their audience: one viewer might focus on myth while another could seek political allusions in the same art work.

Overview of previous scholarship

Johann Winckelmann first recognised personification—earlier called allegory—as an important phenomenon in Greek art (Winckelmann, 1766). Since Gustav Körte's late 19th-century investigation of the demonic personifications inspired by Attic tragedy, which delved into literary as well as artistic sources, predominantly South Italian

ceramics (Körte, 1874), specialised studies have concentrated on certain types of personifications, for example, natural phenomena (Ame-lung, 1888; Blümner, 1881; Burckhardt, 1959; Gardner, 1888: 47-81; Gerber, 1883: 241; Matz, 1913; Schulz, 1889) or personifications in particular media, such as vases (Pottier, 1889-1890). August Baumeister's pioneering treatment of personifications in ancient art (Baumeister, 1888) was soon superseded by Ludwig Deubner and Hermann Steuding's entries in Roscher's *Lexicon* (Deubner & Steuding, 1894-1897 and 1897-1903). Later studies, by Charles Picard and others, have pursued the connection between personifications in art and those in drama (Picard, 1942). Other scholars, such as Leiva Petersen, however, focused on the use of personifications in literature (Petersen, 1939).

T.B.L. Webster (1954) delved into the more theoretical issues of why and when a personification was created. Karl Reinhardt (1966), Jean Pépin (1970), Jacqueline Duchemin (1980), and Bernard Dietrich (1988), have followed Webster's theoretical approach. The modern dichotomy, inherent in Deubner and Steuding's works, between personifications of abstract ideas and personifications of geographical entities, has persisted until the present, with the notable exception of Friedrich Hamdorf's treatment (1964) of cult personifications. Twentieth-century studies have concentrated also on the role of personifications in Greek religious thought (Gardner, 1908-1921; Robert, 1919; Hinks 1939). Martin Nilsson (1952: 31-40) advanced the investigation of cult personifications as an aspect of Greek religion. Increasingly strict classifications of personifications have resulted (Stöhl, 1937: 1042-1058; Webster, 1954; Pötscher, 1972: 661-663). Hamdorf's remains the most complete work on the cult status of a wide range of abstract and geographical personifications. Like him, Emma Stafford (2000: 2) eschews the anachronistic tendency of modern scholars to distinguish degrees or scales of personification—a tendency that has resulted in the treatment of artistic personifications separately from cult figures: "Such a preoccupation with categorisation risks obscuring the point that any one figure may

have been regarded differently in different places and times.”

Numerous writers in the last half century have refocused attention on personifications in the visual arts (Hibbs, 1962; Papadaki-Angelidou, 1960; and others mentioned below). Alan Shapiro’s *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 B.C.* (1993) investigates the origins of personification in Greek art. Although many of the fifth-century personifications in Shapiro’s work also appear here, I have added local personifications, as well as maenads used as personifications to the general categories his work covers. Because I see democratic institutions as a key factor in shaping the political use of civic personifications in Athenian art, the terminus for my study extends beyond Shapiro’s to the end of the Athenian democracy, that is continuing from 400 through to 322 (Shapiro, 1993: 25). My study considers all of the visual arts, whereas the chronological period under consideration in Shapiro’s work necessarily limited his scope to the ceramic repertoire. Shapiro paved the way for subsequent studies of the phenomenon of personification in Greek art. Barbara Borg’s *Der Logos des Mythos* (2002) is more theoretical and considers the use of personification as well as allegory in all of Greek art until the beginning of the fourth century, focusing on particular examples rather than surveying all personifications. Christian Aellen’s, *À la recherche de l’ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personifications dans la céramique italote* (1994) includes a few South Italian personifications that are political in character. I would agree with him that they are all derived from Athenian arts (Aellen, 1994: 117). Similarly derivative are Hellenistic personifications, studied by Wolfgang Messerschmidt (2003) and Stephen Kershaw (1986).³ Henri Métzger (1996: 279), however, finds a discrepancy between local personifications on Attic and South Italian vases. It is therefore more appropriate that local

personifications on Attic vases should be studied in the context of contemporaneous Attic arts.

Renewed interest in Athenian democracy inspired by the 2500th anniversary of the Athenian ‘birth of democracy’ (under Kleisthenes in 508/7), gave rise to scholarship on political personifications decorating individual art works, particularly document reliefs (Shapiro, 1984 and 1986b, 134-135; Meyer, 1989; Palagia, 1994; Tzachou-Alexandri, 1994 and 1996; Lawton, 1995a [adapted from Lawton, 1984] and 1996). Insofar as their images are juxtaposed with inscriptions, document reliefs—which figure prominently in chapter nine of the present work—are the closest we get to ‘illustrated texts’ in classical Greece. Messerschmidt’s monograph, *PROSOPOPOIIA* (2003), is the only book-length study of political personifications, with a particular focus on political concepts, ranging from the period from the middle of the fourth century through to the first century. He focuses on explicitly public monuments, such as the document reliefs and statues, and thus separates sculptural from the ceramic evidence. The iconography of extant fourth century personifications, most of which pertain to the broad theme of politics, differ in interesting ways from the civic personifications of fifth-century Athens. I consider the relevant iconography in all media, however, and concentrate rather on the themes evoked by the images.

Synopsis

Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art is an investigation of the specific use in visual arts, by Athenian (Attic) artists in the Classical period, of personifications of virtues, events, institutions, and places that pertained to the state of Athens, its populace, and its government and policies with regard to civil as well as secular affairs in the Classical period (480-323). This is the only study that uses personifications as a lens through which to view the intellectual and political climate of Athens in the Classical period, so a brief historical overview is in order before I summarise the

³ I thank Stephen Kershaw for letting me read his unpublished PhD thesis.

contents of this study. While the relative absence of precise dates hinders our ability to study this phenomenon in a strictly historical or chronological order, I have grouped personifications according to the themes that they evoked and presented those themes roughly in the order in which they appeared in Athenian art.

Athens' democracy was established in 508, but largely coincided with the so-called Classical period (480-323), which also witnessed the rise and fall of Athens' empire. The empire grew out of the foundation of the Delian League (478/7) but dissolved during and as a result of Athens' loss to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (431-404). Despite the establishment of the Second Athenian League in 378, Athens eventually submitted to the Makedonian Kings, after the Battle of Krannon of 322, the last battle of the Lamian War. Throughout this period Athens' artistic output changed as dramatically as her fortunes, not only in quality but also in form, function, and media. Some of the native and foreign artists, writers, and thinkers who had assembled to work, learn, and teach at Athens in the years leading up to the Peloponnesian War, remained and flourished, even after the outbreak of the War, while others went abroad, for political, economic, or other reasons. The sculptors—including some foreigners—who had been employed to embellish the Akropolis (through the Periklean building program, begun in 448/7) went on to work on other religious and private art works in Athens and Attika. Despite her loss of empire Athens' cultural supremacy seems not to have diminished after her defeat in 404. Into the fourth century, the fame of individual artists, and that of Athens—their home—grew with the number of foreign commissions. We have evidence of Attic sculptors working for East Greek dynasts as well as Peloponnesians. Through the political reorganisation after the loss of the Peloponnesian War (404) Athenian artworks made for use at home and abroad begin to take on an explicitly political dimension.

In the next two chapters I discuss the evolution of personifications in the Archaic and early

Classical periods (700-450). Chapter two considers the evolution of personification as a means of communicating political ideas (adapted from Smith, 1999). I explain the relationship of personification to allegory and myth, survey visual and literary personifications in the Archaic and early Classical periods, and contend that artists in the early Classical period experimented with labels that introduced these novel characters. In chapter three I investigate the use of local personifications in the early Classical period, a class of evidence that has been marginalised in older studies. I argue that these humanised representations of geographical entities are relevant to the *polis*, especially in advertising the growth of the Athenian empire. I also dispute the divisions between these groups of 'mythic' characters that have been established in scholarship (with the exception of Méztger, 1987: 111-112; Méztger, 1996): artists chose the characters, if not their names, to suit the context of each representation.

Chapters four through six consider civic virtues. In chapter four I investigate two political personifications that were known and occasionally intertwined in myth and cult throughout Greece, as at Athens before the Peloponnesian War: Themis (Law according to custom, justice, right) and Nemesis (Retribution, Righteous Anger, and Indignation). I argue that a significant clustering of known Attic visual sources, especially for Nemesis, during the Peloponnesian War (431-404), is a response to that War. Chapter five investigates Hygieia (Health), Peitho (Persuasion), and other civic personifications found on art connecting them with Aphrodite Pandemos. In contrast to other scholars, who have looked at the material from the point of view of private life, I argue that these images of personified virtues and their placement on vases that were used and/or given at weddings resonate simultaneously on personal and civic levels. Chapter six explores the personification of the ideals of Eukleia (Good Repute) and Eunomia (Good Order), who were shown in the circles of Aphrodite and other gods. I challenge the idea that these personifications or their images on Athenian vases are evidence of

partisan motivations in the workshops of Athens' potters and painters.

Chapters seven and eight consider personifications of political ideas and events that are not evidenced in cult but appear in the arts of late fifth century Athens. In chapter seven I investigate the personifications of Eirene (Peace) and related concepts as maenads in the retinue of Dionysos. I argue that vase paintings reflect Eirene's role, as a fertility goddess, in poetry, especially the comedies of Aristophanes. In chapter eight I investigate a wide range of one-off personifications that Athenian artists spontaneously created. I argue that they are primarily artistic creations, not to be interpreted as religious manifestations.

Chapters nine through eleven cover political personifications in the art of fourth century Athens. Chapter nine deals with personifications of places and political bodies, especially Demos (Body Politic) of Athens and Demoi of particular *demes* and foreign cities. The *demes* are subsections of the *polis*, Athens, in the region of Attika. I contend that the emphasis on particular places and peoples may reflect the contemporary concern for autonomy that the Athenians shared with the other Greeks. I also argue that the embodiment of these political institutions in art reflects a particularly close relationship between political thought and public art in fourth

century Athens. Chapter ten revisits Eirene, the fertility goddess who is arguably the most important personification of the fourth century: by the second quarter of the fourth century peace was favoured by the aristocratic, propertied classes as well as the traditional democrats and Eirene came to represent the hopes of all Athenians for individual and group survival. By this time Eirene has lost her connection to Dionysos but is seen as the mother of Ploutos (Wealth) whom she shares with the Eleusinian Mysteries: Ploutos personifies the primary benefit that Peace and the Eleusinian goddesses could bring to the people. I suggest that Ploutos' elevation to cult at Eleusis signals the success of artists in bringing personifications into the mainstream of Athenian life. In chapter eleven I investigate civic virtues first worshipped in the fourth century, particularly Demokratia (Democracy) and Tykhe (Fortune). I suggest that the deification of these political personifications develops from their popularisation as personifications in visual and literary arts. Chapter twelve provides a brief conclusion. The accompanying catalogue contains detailed information, including written sources, descriptions of extant objects, and relevant bibliography for each art work with civic personifications. Where each catalogue item is discussed in the text I refer to it by its catalogue number.

CHAPTER TWO

NAMES OR COMMENTS? THE BIRTH OF POLITICAL PERSONIFICATION IN GREECE

The gradual emergence of personifications into the public eye is a matter that bridges visual and literary arts and has therefore fallen between discussions of these cultural products of ancient Greece. This is particularly unfortunate in the context of Classical Athens, where dramatic performances were indeed visual, although we usually experience them in their written form. If we concentrate on the physicality of plots and characters in Athenian plays, however, we might come closer to understanding the Athenian reception of theatre. Poets and pot painters adapted their material from the same stock of material, old (local and Panhellenic myth) and new (observations on life, society, and politics as they knew them). While I argue that one must consider both visual and literary arts to understand an artistic tendency such as the creation of personifications—for which motivations and techniques seem to have been similar—it is true that there is little correspondence between the personifications in the two realms. It does not follow that a character crucial to a text would have looked good in a painting or *vice versa*. Text and image were related but independent entities (Small, 2003: 156). As it is, the vast majority of literary and visual sources are lost from the archaeological record, so it follows that many personifications are also lost to us.

As the goal of this study is an understanding of how and why Classical Athenian artists created personifications, one must start with the techniques of presentation. I therefore begin this chapter with a discussion of ancient rhetorical terms related to personification. A discussion of the role of personifications in myth and cult is then warranted by the fact that Athenian artists begin to introduce personifications in the context of myth. I will then consider the development of

Greek personifications in all arts until the Classical period. This discussion is followed by surveys of personifications in Classical literature; political personifications in old comedy; symbolic figures in the visual arts of the early Classical period; and finally the use of labels with personifications. As I will show, the visual artists shared some techniques with writers. The simplest personifications are those that bear meaningful names. More complex personifications could result from the addition of genealogies and other relationships, appearance and attributes, speech and action.

Prosopopoeia, allegoria, and hyponoia

There is no ancient Greek term for personification so personifications in the visual arts were hardly discussed as such in antiquity. Προσωποποιία, “the putting of speeches into the mouths [faces] of characters” (LSJ)⁹ s.v. προσωποποιία) is the ancient term nearest in meaning to personification (the modern Greek equivalent, προσοποποιήσις, refers to artistic as well as literary personifications; for post-classical ideas of ancient personification see Siorvanes, 2005). Προσωποποιία derives from τὸ πρόσωπον, meaning face or—in a dramatic context—mask or character. The technique of *prosopopoeia* is therefore best suited to literary performance, whether dramatic or oratorical. The first surviving use of the term occurs indeed in an oratorical context:

Another figure of thought which may be used to effect force is that called *prosopopoeia*, for example, ‘Imagine that your ancestors, or Greece, or your Patria (Country), in the form of a woman, reproach you and say such words’.
(Demetrios, *Peri hermeneias* 265)

According to this explanation, *prosopopoeia* results from giving speech to a personification—an effect not generally used by visual artists—and not just creating a form. For a possible exception, see the discussion of Eurymedon, towards at the end of this chapter.

Allegoria, ἡ ἀλληγορία, “veiled language,” also evolved from a rhetorical figure (LSJ⁹ s.v. ἀλληγορία). There is evidence for allegorical interpretation of literature as early as the late sixth century (Theagenes 8 A2 DK). J. Tate attributed the origin of allegorical interpretation rather to Pherekydes of Syros, who lived in the first half of the sixth century (Tate, 1934; Tate, 1927: 214–215; for Theagenes’ successors see Richardson, 1992; Lamberton, 1992; Long, 1992). The term *allegoria* is not defined, however, until much later. Demetrios provides the earliest description:

Allegoria (hidden meaning) is also impressive, especially in threats, for example, that of Dionysios: ‘their grasshoppers will sing from the ground.’ If he had said this plainly, that is, that he would advance on the land of Lokris, he would have seemed more angry and disparaging. He has concealed his words, so to speak, in allegory. For always what is implied is more terrifying because other meanings are possible. What is clear and plain is likely to be frowned upon, as are men stripped of their clothes. This is why the mysteries are expressed by means of *allegoria*, to inspire terror and bristling, as in the dark and at night. *Allegoria* is not unlike darkness and night.
(Demetrios, *Peri hermeneias* 99–101)

This description of *allegoria* closely follows a passage in Aristoteles’ *Rhetorika* (1412a20–24) in which he ascribes the sentence on grasshoppers to Stesikhoros rather than Dionysios. But Demetrios’ *allegoria* is Aristoteles’ τὸ μὴ ὅ φησι λέγειν, “to say that which one does not say.” To Demetrios and his successors *allegoria* may have entailed metaphorical speech, which pertains to some literary personifications, although not to the visual personifications: note especially Cicero, *Oratio ad M. Brutum* 94; Philodemus 1.164 and 181; and Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 8.6.44, 9.1.5, 9.2.46. This is the sense of allegory generally understood in discussions of ancient drama

(e.g. Bowie, 1993; Lada Richards, 1999; Dover, 2004).

Hyponoia, ἡ ὑπόνοια, is a term that may have been used for the rhetorical *allegoria* in the Classical period, according to Ploutarkhos (*Ethika* 19e). Ancient authors used *hyponoia* to refer to hidden or allusive meanings, as in Platon’s dismissal of immoral myths regarding the gods, “whether they are composed with or without underlying meanings” (οὔτ’ ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημέναις οὔτε ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν) (Platon, *Politeia* 378d5). Aristoteles referred to *hyponoia* as a comic technique. He contrasted it with αἰσχρολογία, “obscurities” (*Ethika Nikomacheia* 1128a24). In *Phoinissai* (produced c. 410), Euripides used *hyponoia* to refer to the allusive nature of the *sema* (signature decoration) on the shield of the Argive hero, Kapaneus:

The iron decorations on his shield showed an earth-born giant carrying on his shoulders an entire town torn away by a crowbar from its foundation as a suggestion (*hyponoia*) of what will happen to our town.
(Euripides, *Phoinissai* 1130–1134)

To Euripides, then, *hyponoia*, not *allegoria*, was the appropriate term for the type of symbolic image known in modern times as allegory. The meaning of ὑπόνοια in the late fifth century actually ranges from ‘suggestion’ to ‘suspicion’ (e.g. Aristophanes, *Eirene* 993; Thukydides 2.41.4, 5.87.1, and 7.49.4). Unlike *allegoria*, however, *hyponoia* was not restricted to rhetorical matters. Nicholas Richardson (1975) proposed that the fifth century interest in poetic *hyponoia* developed as a by-product of the sophists’ interest in rhetoric, an inference that is supported by Sokrates’ mention that (Homeros’) *hyponoiai* are not understood by the rhapsodes of his day (Xenophon, *Symposion* 3.6).

Over the centuries allegory has come to be used of visual as well as literary expression. By the modern definition of allegory, “a symbolic representation” (*Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary*: Springfield, Mass. 1981) every personification is also an allegory, because personification is one of many modes of symbolic representation. In

Laokoon 10, Gotthold Lessing argued for the allegorical nature of visual personifications as follows:

When the poet personifies abstractions, they are sufficiently characterized by their names and the actions which he represents them as performing. The artist does not command these means. He is therefore compelled to add to his personified abstractions some emblems by which they may be easily recognized. These emblems, since they are different and have different significations, constitute them allegorical figures.
(Lessing in Beasley & Zimmern, 1890: 70)

Lessing oversimplifies the point, for naming and giving personifications action are both within the means of visual artists. Scholars have applied the modern concept of allegory to ancient art and demonstrated that allegorical expression was known to Classical Greek artists, even before Apelles' famous fourth-century painting of 'Calumny' (Shapiro, 1986a: 4-23; see also Whitman, 1987, and Borg, 2002). It suffices to note that symbolic, i.e., allegorical, meaning was inextricably bound up with ancient Greek personifications. The fact that ancient authors discussed and analyzed literary forms of symbolic expression more than its visual forms may result also from the fact that writers were more likely to be concerned with their own form of expression—literature. We do not have extant treatises by Classical painters and sculptors on the technical matters of their art, let alone the meaning with which they imbued their figures. Yet because allegory was a literary matter to the ancient Greeks, the use of this term in discussion of ancient art, and the distinction between allegory and personification, are theoretical, semantic matters that digress from the purposes of the present study.

Personifications in myth and cult

The distinction between personifications and gods is complicated by the sheer number of their names attested in myth. The tendency of myth to use nouns as characters constitutes a kind

of personification itself. Simple personifications were further elaborated, especially by epic writers and mythographers, in genealogies that connected the characters to each other and thereby said something about their roles. Most myths appear late in written sources so the mythic roles of personifications—interesting though they may be—are not immediately relevant to depictions of personifications in Classical art (Borg makes a similar point supported, however, by a different argument: Borg, 2005).

The representation of a personification in a mythic tale (just like the representation of a personification in a painting) does not itself constitute deification, although some personifications were gods/goddesses in their own right. Personification and deification are two distinct vehicles through which ancient Greeks engaged with the spirits that they perceived in every entity. An artist might 'flesh out' a personification with attributes that seemed appropriate to his or her essential role—for example, the child Ploutos (Wealth) in the arms of Eirene, the personification of peace (fig. 2.1). It was possible, however, to worship a geographic location—a river, for example—with or without an anthropomorphised representation or even an altar to mark the place of worship. With the exception of cult statues, neither the images considered in this study nor the monuments they decorated served primarily cultic functions. While I consider the implications of divinity for cult personifications such as Themis, Nemesis, and Hygieia, the degree to which an entity was divinised is generally irrelevant to the question of how Classical Athenian artists used personifications.

Might a personification's mythical or religious role obscure its status as a personification? This depends on whether the artist(s) employed it in a symbolic mode that is relevant to its external mythical role. Thebe, the personification of the Boiotian city of Thebes, for example, appears with Salamis and perhaps the Eleusinian goddesses, on an early Classical *skyphos*, VP 6, in a scene that cannot be connected with Thebe's witnessing the encounter of Kadmos and Harmonia or any other known myth (Vlassopoulou,

1994: 914-916) (figs. 3.6-7). In this case, therefore, Thebe is a true personification. I disagree with Gaetan Thériault's suggestion (1996: 186-187) that there is a conflict between the role of personifications as political virtues and their role as religious figures. As this study focuses on the use of personification in art, however, I only consider tangentially whether the Greeks attributed cult significance to any of these figures.

This brings our attention to the narrative context of each personification. When the personification is a character otherwise unknown in myth, or is shown in a non-mythic scene, s/he may seem to differ from the mythic counterparts in lacking a story. The personification tells his or her own story, however, through attributes, including gestures and companions. These attributes often serve as verbs for the visual stories, explaining how characters act and what effect they have on each other (Osborne, 2000: 9). Ploutos in the arms of Eirene, for example, suggests that wealth is nourished by peace (fig. 2.1). Artists used personification to satisfy a certain narrative function. Such stories are often called allegories, although they do not always fit the strict meaning of that word, as explained above (12).

Greek personifications before the Classical period

Simple personifications occur in literature as early as Homeros (certainly earlier than 700) and thus precede visual personifications by more than a century. This does not mean that personifications were not pictured before this time, but the written form that labelled personifications was not available to Greek artists until the 7th century. Personifications in Homeros' epics are accessory characters. They explain some aspect of the primary characters, particularly the Olympian divinities. Homeros presents the Litai (Prayers) as daughters of Zeus, for example, to express one aspect of Zeus' broad-ranging powers (Wyatt, 1982; Arieti, 1988; Yamagata, 2005). Relation to Zeus might also justify their importance in reli-

gion. In book nine of *Ilias*, Phoinix invokes the Litai in a parable, as part of his attempt to lessen the wrath of Akhilleus: "For the Litai [Prayers] are daughters of almighty Zeus: lame, withering, with eyes cast down, they trouble themselves to follow after mighty Ate [Folly]" (Homeros, *Ilias* 9.503-505; see Yamagata, 1991). Personifications are not always dependent on the higher divinities for their existence. Yet they are connected to each other or to other characters through elaborate genealogies that explain the ways in which they interact with other personifications and deities. For example,

There is one Eris [Strife] who strengthens evil Polemos [War], and Deris [Slaughter]. She is unwearied; no mortal loves her, but by Ananke [Necessity] and the will of the immortals they pay honour to this grievous Eris. But the other one was born the elder daughter of black Nyx [Night].

(Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 13-17)

Relationships are clearly the simplest way in which an author can say something meaningful about a personification. Authors such as Hesiodos also used personifications and their relations to create links between elements from disparate sources (Burkert, 2005; Duchemin, 1977).

Named personifications began to appear in the visual arts of Greece from the Archaic period (700-480). The second century CE travel writer, Pausanias (5.18.1-2), read the names of personifications that decorated the 'Chest of Kypselos' at Olympia, the earliest work of Greek art, customarily dated to 600-590 on the basis of the lifetimes of Kypselos, tyrant of Sikyon, and his son (Snodgrass, 2001: 127-141). According to Pausanias, this cedarwood box, now lost, was decorated with mythic scenes. Its personifications included Thanatos (Death) and Hypnos (Sleep), with their mother Nyx (Night), as well as Dike (Justice) and Adikia (Injustice). Archaic vases are adorned with some of the same characters, but few other personifications are identified by labels in this period: Geras (Old Age), Harmonia (Harmony), Himeros (Desire), Peitho (Persuasion), and Themis (Law according to custom,

justice, or right) (Shapiro, 1993: 95-109, 239-242; Borg, 2002: 88-95, 132-133, 168-170). The only other known Archaic personification, Oknos (Sloth), was said to have been shown in the Classical period (470-460) on the Nekyia painting by Polygnotos in the Leskhe of the Knidians at Delphi (Pausanias 10.29.1; see Shapiro, 1993: 257 no. 116). Other non-Attic art works, particularly coins, illustrate personifications, but these are all Classical or later.

Abstractions of ideas with political connotations are among the personifications found in Archaic art: Eris, Harmonia, Peitho, and Themis, as well as Dike and Adikia. These abstractions were largely confined to traditional mythic scenes during that period and were rarely shown in political contexts before the Classical period. Three of these political abstractions are actually the only labeled personifications who appear in known mythic stories in the Archaic period: Harmonia meeting her future husband, Kadmos; Peitho at the judgment of Paris; and Themis at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. A unique Archaic use of political abstractions is the scene of Dike attacking Adikia (Justice triumphing over Injustice). The pair appears on two Attic vases dating to the end of the sixth century, as well as on the Chest of Kypselos. Despite Dike's popularity in the literature of fifth-century Athens (Rudhardt, 1999: 104-130, 132-133), however, the two never appear in the visual arts of the Classical period (see, however, Oligarkhia and Demokratia in the same pose on S 3, discussed below, 125). Adikia is ugly, even spotted in one representation, on an unattributed bilingual Nikosthenic neck *amphora*, 520-510 (fig. 2.2). Jiri Frel (1963: 96) has convincingly argued that her spots are tattoos, meant to resemble those of Thrakian (Barbarian) women (see also Zimmermann, 1980: 163-196). This likening of Adikia to Barbarians is consistent with the Greek (Athenian) view of the superiority of Athenian justice over Barbarian injustice (Herodotos 5.8-10; see also Miller, 1997, and Isaac, 2004: 257-303). Athenians used grotesque or imperfect human figures to represent ideas or entities that they saw as negative. Geras,

for example, is an old, misshapen, and dwarf-like figure who appears as the (losing) opponent of Herakles in up to four vases dating to the transition between the Archaic and Classical periods, as noted above.

Parallels in Classical Athenian literature

Authors in Classical Athens—poets and prose writers—effected personifications that ranged from the simple to the complex, depending on which, and how many, techniques were employed. In addition to the preceding techniques they gave their personifications speech and action; these “attributes” set the personifications in literary—including dramatic—arts apart from those in visual media. Like the visual artists, however, writers investigated further the expression of political themes through personifications. While the references to politics, like the personifications themselves, are shrouded in myth and therefore oblique in the early Classical period, they become more explicit towards the fourth century.

Like their Archaic predecessors, Classical authors invoked personifications in genealogical contexts. In Aiskhylos' *Epta epi Thebas* (produced in 467), for example, Eteokles names Peitharkhia (Obedience) as mother of Eupraxia (Success) and wife of Soter (Saviour) to explain that man should rely on his own morality, not merely the good will of the gods (Aiskhylos, *Epta epi Thebas* 224-225). Sometimes a personification would be an object of prayer. In 408, Sophokles has Philoktetes invoke Phthonos (Envy), when he hands the bow of Herakles to Neoptolemos: “Come then, take it, son; and pray to Phthonos that this weapon may not bring grief to you, nor be what it was for me and him who owned it before me” (Sophokles, *Philoktetes* 774-778; for the personification Phthonos see also Kallimakhos, *Hymnos eis Apollon* 105-113). Physical form characterises a developed personification, whose meaning would be enhanced through her appearance on stage. Tragic personifications rarely had actions, let alone speaking roles but, as in epic,

they aided divinities. In Euripides' *Herakles* (c. 417), for example, the messenger goddess Iris explains that Lyssa (Frenzy) is with her, and that they had come together to make Herakles mad, as the gods had willed it (Euripides, *Herakles* 822). When speech is ascribed to the personifications that are 'fleshed-out' on stage the author creates the most explicit type of personification, a sustained character that leaves little to the audience's imagination.

Literary personifications became more complex through the Archaic and early Classical periods (until 450), especially in lyric poetry. Lyric poets experimented with different kinds of metaphorical or allusive speech (Frankel, 1962: 133-134). Using personifications they could temporarily glorify, enliven, and even deify, a thing or place that would be appropriate to their poem, whether or not it appeared elsewhere. For example, in the opening lines of *Pythionike* 8, Pindaros calls on Hesykhia (Calm) to receive honours due to Aristomenes, Pythian victor in 446, for whom he wrote this ode. Hesykhia's epithets, however, glorify Aigina, Aristomenes' home.

Kindly Hesykhia, maker of great cities and daughter of Justice, you who hold the supreme keys of councils and of wars, accept this honour due to Aristomenes for his Pythian victory.
(Pindaros, *Pythionike* 8.1-5)

Hesykhia is elsewhere personified in a manner that suggests deification (e.g. in Aristophanes, *Ornithes* 1321; for her elevation in Spartan thought see Thoukydides 1.83.3; Vickers, 1997: 164, following Carter, 1986: 45-46).

It is in this experimental period that writers also first endowed their personifications with speech. Kratos (Might) delivers the opening lines of Aiskhylos' *Prometheus Desmotes* (dated to the 460s, according to Bees, 1993). He explains that, along with his companion Bia (Strength), he is counselor to Hephaistos (Aiskhylos, *Prometheus Desmotes* 1-88; Kratos and Bia were also paired, as attendants to Zeus, in Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 383-385). This use of speaking personifications is related to 'fictive speaking,' a new technique whereby individuals would deliver imaginary

addresses on real or fictive occasions. Gorgias, for example, could not have delivered his *Epitaphios*, which praises the Athenian character, because he was not a citizen (82 B6 DK; Buchheim, 1989: 190 n. 2). And Damon could hardly have presented his theories about music and culture in an address to the Areopagos, as suggested by the (fragmentary) written source (37 B1-10 DK, esp. B2). In such cases figures known from myth lend authority to the authors' messages by delivering speeches, regardless of historical credibility. Hippias couched his review of "worthwhile careers" in the form of a fictional address of Nestor to Akhilleus at Troy (86 A9 DK). Euripides' *Hiketides* 426-462 is a more plausible variant of this phenomenon: Theseus defends the Athenian character in a conversation with a Theban herald bearing an unrelated message (see also Euripides, *Medea* 1225-1230, where the complaint against intellectuals is irrelevant to the play). So the characters are appropriate to the context, while the content of the speech is dramatically inappropriate. In all of these cases a mask is donned in order to convey a message (Murray, 1999).

Personifications played roles, both silent and speaking, in old comedy (Wikerjak, 1936; Newiger, 1957 [Aristophanes]). As in tragedies, they are present—especially in silent roles—to explain plot elements. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (produced in 411), for example, Lysistrata brings on Diallage (Reconciliation) to persuade the men to call a truce (1114-1118). David Konstan notes the ways in which Aristophanes' (and later Shakespeare's) men imagined a female body (Diallage's) as a map, divided into discrete geographic regions (Konstan, 1993: *apud* 432-433). This is perhaps one conceptual step in the evolution of personification. Certainly by the fourth century the personifications received substantial stage time, as well as speaking roles. Aristophanes' final play, *Ploutos* (of 388), is even named for a personification, Ploutos (Wealth), yet focuses in the *agon* on another, Penia (Poverty). Aristophanes gives both of these personifications speech. The protagonists describe Penia, however, before she speaks for herself. This 'introductory' discussion begins as follows:

Khremylos: And who are you [Penia]? You look very pale to me.

Blepsydemus: Perhaps she's a Fury escaped from a tragedy. For she appears with a certain madness, which is suitable to a tragedy.

(Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, 421-424)

It is this last type of literary personification, one effected through a description, that comes closest to personifications in the visual arts, to whom speech was not granted.

Orators used the simple symbolic form of personification found in epic and tragedy: they brought in personifications as the companions of protagonists, or even antagonists. Pseudo-Demosthenes, for example, claims that "[Aristogeiton] is accompanied by the creatures whom painters depict with the sinners hell: Ara [Male-diction], Blasphemia [Evil-Speaking], Phthonos [Envy], Stasis [Faction], Neikos [Dissension]" (Pseudo-Demosthenes 25.52; **MP** 5). Human action is another technique employed by orators, such as Isokrates in his *Panegyrikos* (published in 380), following lyric precedents (Radford, 1901): "Nor did our city, after she had done her part in bringing about the most important benefits, ignore what remained to be done" (Isokrates 4.38). Orators generally gave their personifications speech, as exemplified by Demosthenes in 330:

...although the Patria [Country] with her civic voice was calling for the man who should speak for her salvation; for we may justly regard the voice, which the herald raises as the laws direct, as the civic voice of our Patria.

(*Peri tou stephanou* 170)

In this example, as in most cases, the orator avoids giving his personification a physical form, whereas the unknown source to whom Demetrios refers, in his discussion of *prosopopoeia* (noted above, 11-12), actually renders a physical form, the "City in the form of a woman" (see also Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 25 and Demosthenes, *Peri tou stephanou* 63).

The main purpose of personifications in philosophical works was to deliver a persuasive argument, although speech was not always granted to them. The Nomoi (Laws) deliver Sokrates' own argument, in the 390s:

Sokrates: Then if the Nomoi [Laws] say 'was there provision for this agreement between you and us, Sokrates, or did you agree to abide by the judgments that the state pronounced?'

(Platon, *Kriton* 50c)

The Laws expressed the argument of Sokrates and Sokrates in turn spoke their words, with the result that they don't even have a true speaking part in *Kriton*: this is thus the first known example of *prosopopoeia*, as described by Demetrios. Neither does Platon describe the physical form of the Laws. Personifications could be effected through adjectives suggesting human appearance, however, rather than physical descriptions, as in Platon's *Symposion* 203c-d (c. 384):

Seeing that Eros [Love] is the son of Poros [Resource] and Penia [Need], this certain fate is determined: first, he is always needy, and he is not soft to the touch and lovely, as most of us suppose, but harsh and dusty, barefoot and homeless, always falling to the ground and without a bed, in doorways, or on the very streets beneath the stars of heaven, and always partaking of his mother's poverty.

Regardless of the degree to which Eros is described in visual terms, he and his parents remain silent characters. Such silent characters in prose are directly comparable to the mute personifications in drama and in visual arts. Prodikos' "Choice of Herakles," the most famous fifth century allegory, however, gives the personifications Kakia (Vice) and Arete (Goodness) human action, including speech, as well as elaborately embellished human forms (84 B2 DK [=Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* 2.1.21-33]; Ferrari, 1990: 189-190; Stafford, 2005a: 71-96). Although this allegory is unknown in ancient drama and art, Kakia and especially Arete are nevertheless ideas that were personified in Athenian oratory, particularly in the works of Aiskhines (*In Ktesiphon* 260), Demosthenes (*Peri tou stephanou* 127-128) and Isokrates (8.120). For the personification of Arete in art see **S 9**, discussed in chapter 11, 124.

Visual embellishment of the human figure was possible with both literary and visual personifications. Perhaps the personifications who

appeared on stage are better attested in the visual arts than those who only spoke or were spoken for, like the Nomoi (Picard, 1942: 25-49). Particularly in the mid-Classical period audiences in public performances—much of the Athenian populace—probably became accustomed to personifications on stage. The “fleshed-out” personifications in tragedy, and particularly comedy, may have indirectly influenced the artists in their decisions to represent ideas as personifications. While some scholars have attributed the burgeoning representations of personifications in Classical art works to the direct influence of drama (e.g. Ostrowski, 1991: 14) there is little evidence of the direct transmission of personifications from drama to Attic visual arts. The earliest “fleshed-out” dramatic personification with a speaking role—Kratos (noted above, 16)—appears with his companion Bia only once in the ceramic repertoire, but in connection with the punishment of Ixion, rather than that of Prometheus, on a (fragmentary) red figure *skyphos*, attributed to the Meidias Painter (420-410) and previously identified as side A of VP 30.¹ As I mentioned earlier, however, so much material is lost from the record. Pollux includes many personifications in his list of tragic characters who required special masks: river (later he specifies Indos), mountain, Dike (Justice), Hybris (Arrogance), Peitho (Persuasion), Horai (Seasons), Apate (Deceit), Methe (Drunkenness), Oknos (Sloth), and Phthonos (Envy) (Pollux 4.141-142). In the same place he also lists Polis (City), Thanatos (Death), Lyssa (Madness), and Oistros (Frenzy), all of whom do appear in extant plays (or fragments). All of these personifications are indeed found in visual sources, but not necessarily in images that can be construed as representations of tragic scenes (Stafford, 2000: 13; for Lyssa see Borg, 2002: 147-150). The direct influence of Attic tragedy is more pronounced in representations on South Italian vases (from the late fifth

century), however, where known theatrical scenes are actually illustrated (Trendall & Webster, 1971). Demonic personifications such as Lyssa, Oistros, and Mania on South Italian vases appeared in illustrations of Attic tragedies and other myths (Körte, 1874; Aellen 1994, 24-91; Taplin, 2007: 70-71). Shapiro’s suggestion that each figure “...had probably been personified first by the poets” is an overreading of this extant evidence in South Italian vase painting (Shapiro, 1993: 14). The evidence from Athens is, however, lopsided. Few of the extant poetic personifications are found in the Athenian visual sources. As I mentioned earlier, one need not expect the painters to have copied the poets or *vice versa*.

Political personifications in old comedy

The greatest overlap between visual personifications of political ideas and literature is found with old comedy. Political personifications constituted primary roles in old comedy, particularly in the lost plays of Eupolis, *Poleis* (Cities), c. 422 (frs. 99-146 KA; Storey, 2003: 216-219) and *Demoi* (Peoples), c. 417 or 412 (frs. 218-258 KA; Storey, 2003: 111-173; Storey, 2000; Plepeltis, 1970). They also abound in the works of Aristophanes (MacDowell, 1995: 350-356). The most obvious extant example is in Aristophanes’ *Hippeis* of 424. Here Demos, the personification of the aged Athenian Body Politic, is rejuvenated and vows to restore old-fashioned ways in the government (Aristophanes, *Hippeis* 1335-1408). This Demos is introduced by his slave on l. 42. Whereas Demos was actually the name of at least one real individual in classical Athens, it is his demotic, Πυκνίτης, that establishes the allegorical character of Aristophanes’ Demos, because the Pnyx—the important locus of the Assembly—was not actually a *deme* (Dover, 2004: 248 n. 1). Kenneth Dover reignites the idea that further scenes than those mentioned here might have been allegorical (Dover, 2004: 241); Michael Vickers furthers the argument that this is political allegory (Vickers, 1997: xxvi-xxxiv, 159-167, especially with regard to *Ornithes*).

¹ The two sides seem to me, however, to belong to a different *skyphoi*, as the characters on each side are of vastly divergent sizes, and the decorative friezes that encircle the rims of both ‘sides’ are not identical.

Comedies were newly invented stories that seem to have reflected the political climate of contemporary Athens, whereas tragedies concerned traditional myths. According to the Life of Aristophanes "...when the tyrant Dionysios [of Syrakousa, Sicily] wanted to find out about the way *politeia* (politics or civic matters) worked in Athens, Platon sent him a copy of Aristophanes and suggested he do it by studying the plays" (KA 3.2.3.42-45). The political personifications along with other comic characters in these comedies, therefore, conveyed contemporary political messages to Athenian and non-Athenian audiences, just as they seem to convey political messages to us (Sidwell, 2009). We cannot be sure exactly what these messages were but I agree with Henderson that Aristophanes' protagonists speak for the people:

In taking the populist line the comic poets did more than indulge themselves and their spectators in harmless griping. They systematically and vehemently involved themselves in the most important issues of the day.... In the nationalization of aristocratic attributes—a process also visible in Attic oratory—we see the formation of a demotic ideology, the concept of the *demos* as a corporate élite whose leaders should be public servants, not masters. The comic paradox of the ordinary man as public hero is thus complementary to the democratic paradox of the public hero as servant.

(Henderson, 1993: 314-315)

Perhaps the similarities between old comedy and visual arts reflect the painters' and poets' engagement with contemporary culture. We can take it for granted that a vase painter who was interested in political ideas was well aware of the creations of contemporary writers of comedies, and a comic poet likewise might have paid attention to the images around him. In his peace plays—*Akharnes* (425), *Eirene* (421), and *Lysistrata* (411), as well as the lost *Georgoi* (Farmers) (Aristophanes fr. 111 KA)—Aristophanes tries to persuade the men of Athens against involvement in the Peloponnesian War, by promoting peace and her rewards, prosperity and fertility (sex). *Eirene* (Peace) was both a vegetation goddess and a political idea to Aristophanes. This duality

also characterises her appearance on Attic vases (as I will discuss in chapters seven and ten). In *Eirene*, Aristophanes brings *Eirene* back to life from Hades. Like Aristophanes' *Diallage* (Reconciliation) in *Lysistrata*, *Eirene* is paraded onto the stage, as if she were a (cult) statue brought to life, and ogled by the other characters (as well as the audience). Aristophanes' *Diallage* and *Eirene* are mute, just like personifications in the visual arts. When the farmer Trygaios asks why *Eirene* won't speak Hermes makes a joke of it: "You don't think she'd talk to them [the audience], do you? After all she suffered at their hands?" (Aristophanes, *Eirene* 658-659). These mute 'images' of *Eirene* and *Diallage* might have intentionally reminded the audience of their appearance in the visual arts, which would lend a familiar sense and consequent humour to this scene. So this is one case where the artists could have inspired the poet. On the other hand, the portrayal of political personifications in literature, particularly comedy, would have brought them into the mainstream of Athenian public life. The least that can be said is that dramatic personifications accustomed Athenians to seeing personifications, and probably prepared them for the particular images (and pertinent iconography) of popular figures such as *Demos* and *Eirene* (as I will discuss in chapter 9).

Symbolic figures in the visual arts of early Classical Athens

Two trends in the early Classical period (480-450) gave rise to the development of political personifications in the visual arts. On the one hand, Athenian artists increasingly used personification as an expressive mode, as discussed above. On the other hand, artists in visual media began to allude to politics, with or without mythic figures or personifications (for this phenomenon in the Archaic period see Shapiro, 1989). The process whereby these two trends combined, which lies at the heart of this book, seems to have been gradual (on gradual iconographic changes through the democracy see also Csapo & Miller,

1998). Whether or not they were meant to refer to politics, symbolic figures such as local personifications referred to politics allusively, not explicitly (see chapter 3). They might not have been easily perceived or understood by many viewers. Before the discussion of these local personifications and personifications of political ideas *per se*, therefore, I will briefly trace the ways in which early Classical artists used personifications as well as traditional characters (gods and heroes) to symbolise non-human entities through which they evoked political meaning; I have previously referred to these traditional figures as ‘proto-personifications’ (Smith, 1999, following Pollitt, 1987: 14).

Archaic artists conservatively embedded their personifications of political ideas—Eris, Harmonia, Peitho, and Themis—in traditional mythical scenes. The forward looking exception is the pairing of Adikia (Injustice) and Dike (Justice), discussed above, 14–15. This is progressive, not only because they are shown in a non-mythical scene, but also because in pairing the two the artist says something about their individual qualities. Early Classical vase painters began to picture Nike, the winged young woman who personified and symbolised Victory (Musti ed., 2005), alone or with one other figure. In these early Classical scenes, Nike, who was familiar from the Archaic period, begins to take on an allusively political role. The nature of each victory is revealed through Nike’s attribute. Nike often carries a crown with which to honour the successful athlete. She carries a *kithara*, however, to celebrate a musical victory, on a Nolan *amphora* (small two-handled jug), attributed to the Providence Painter, 480–470, now in Vienna (fig. 2.3; see also fig. 8.8, which shows four Nikai with a *kitharoidos*). Or Nike might celebrate a military victory by erecting a trophy, as on the name vase (a *pelike*) of the Trophy Painter, 460–450 (fig. 2.4). Characters might also serve as each other’s attributes. On a calyx krater (mixing bowl) attributed to the Aigisthos Painter (c. 480–470) in New Haven, for example, Nike and the sea god, Poseidon, refer together to a naval victory (fig. 2.5) (Matheson, 1987: 2–7).

Examples of Nike abound. As she is intimately connected with Athena in Classical Athens, but rarely with other political personifications, Nike warrants (and has begun to receive) separate, in depth treatment (Moustaka *et al.*, 1992; Thöne, 1999; Wilson, 2007).

A personification similar to Nike in appearance if not meaning, Ananke (Necessity), is perhaps the only new political personification of the early Classical period. According to Herodotos (8.111), when the Athenian general Themistokles arrived on the island of Andros he reported that he and the Athenians had come with two gods, Peitho (Persuasion) and Ananke, to which the Andrians replied their only gods were Penia (Poverty) and Amekhania (Helplessness). This is the first explicitly political use of a personified abstract in literature. Ploutarkhos told a variant story, that the Greek deities were Peitho and Bia, and that the Andrian deities were Penia and Aporia (Resourcelessness) (*Themistokles* 21). While it is impossible, and perhaps irrelevant, to decide which story was correct, I favour Herodotos’, for Bia, a masculine deity, was commonly paired with Kratos in Archaic art, as noted above (16; see also Shapiro, 1993: 166–167, 189). *Bia* and *Ananke* are, however, paired in Gorgias’ *Enkomion of Helene*: ἡ γὰρ Τύχης βουλήμασι καὶ θεῶν βουλευμάσι καὶ Ἀνάγκης ψηφίσμασιν ἔπραξεν ἃ ἔπραξεν, ἢ βίαι ἀρπασθεῖσα, ἢ λόγοις πεισθεῖσα, <ἢ ἐρώτι ἀλοῦσα> (82 B11.6 DK; for *Bia* in Euripides, *Herakles*, see also Chalk, 1962). Euripides makes the case for Ananke as a goddess (*thea*) in *Alkestis* 962–980 (produced in 438). The Chorus lament that “Of that goddess alone there are neither altars nor a wooden image to approach, nor does she give ear to sacrificial victims,” but such is her power that “that to which Zeus is inclined, together with [her] he brings to fulfillment.” Despite the importance of the concept of *ananke* (Williams, 2008), she has no mythology—except as the mother of Aphrodite (*Hymnoi Orphikoi* 55.3) or Moira (Platon, *Politikos* 10.617b–e), and a connection with the Erinyes (Aiskhylos, *Prometheus Desmotes* 515–516; Euripides, *Alkestis* 965–984; Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina* 1.35.17–20; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*

1.19.17—there is but one humble image of her in visual arts, **VP 5 (fig. 2.6)** (Simon, 1981b: 757-758). This small *lekythos* (oil jar) in Moscow, in the style of the Providence Painter, 470-460, depicts a winged woman with a torch. The label reads ANΑΝΑΗ, which Erika Simon took as a misspelling of ANΑΓΚΗ. It is indeed likely that a personification was intended: this winged figure could be mistaken for Nike, which perhaps explains why the artist would have added the label. The label (in red *dipinto*) is quite sloppily written (despite the generally neat manner of the Providence Painter: Immerwahr, 1990: 104) and could easily be interpreted as a nonsense inscription (for the latter see Immerwahr, 2006). Yet the only attribute that distinguishes her from Nike—a flaming torch—is entirely appropriate to and indeed suggestive of weddings, the social institutions that were brought about by *ananke* (necessity), according to Aristoteles (*Politika* 1252b26; Parisinou, 2000: 19-43). Attributes such as torches not only characterise personifications but they also facilitate their recognition.

The context of the characters, including their placement in relation to each other, is even more revealing than held attributes. The New Haven calyx krater showing Nike and Poseidon together (**fig. 2.5**) may have been inspired by a particular military event: according to Herodotos (7.189-192), the Greeks had held Poseidon and Boreas (the North Wind), responsible for storm off Euboia that destroyed much of the Persian fleet in 480. Jerome Pollitt suggested a political subtext to this episode: Kimon, the Athenian naval commander (478-463), who shared control of the seas with Poseidon, conducted a campaign to associate himself with Theseus, the quintessential Athenian hero and Poseidon's son (Pollitt, 1987: 10). It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss whether Kimon, a well known patron of the arts (Ploutarkhos, *Kimon* 4), directly commissioned vase painters to illustrate Theseus and Poseidon in reference to himself and his accomplishments. Certainly the association of Kimon with Theseus has been well documented elsewhere (Shapiro, 1992), especially Kimon's visit, in 474, to Skyros, the legendary burial site of Theseus, to

recover the bones of the great hero (Ploutarkhos, *Theseus* 36 and *Kimon* 8.5-6; see Podlecki, 1971: 141-143, and Mills, 1997: 35-36). Kimon probably commissioned the cycle of paintings that decorated the Stoa Poikile (including **MP 1**), which prominently illustrated Theseus. Jan Bazant has shown, through a statistical approach, that there was a concerted attempt—"conscious but unsuccessful"—to replace Herakles, favoured by the tyrants (Boardman, 1989b and 1991), with Theseus (Bazant, 1990: 98). As part of this Theseus campaign Kimon seems to have encouraged the representation of Theseus' maritime lineage. This method of introducing politics into the visual arts, by using recognisable characters as symbols, is the most significant visual precedent for the use of political personifications in the high Classical period.

An unnamed Athenian artist of the 460s took a further step towards true personification by giving speech to the figures on an *oinokhoe* (wine jug) now in Hamburg (**figs. 2.7-8**). This type 7 *oinokhoe*, first published by Konrad Schauenburg (1975), who attributed its painting to the circle of the Triptolemos Painter, might be our only extant example of *prosopopoeia* in the visual arts of Classical Athens. On the front, a bearded Greek hunter, running in 3/4-view to the right, clutches his phallos in his right hand and reaches his left arm towards an Oriental archer, on the back. The archer stands 3/4-view to the right, bent at the hips, with his upper body in a rare frontal pose (Frontisi-Ducroux, 1995), and his hands raised to his head. A curious inscription wraps under the handle of the *oinokhoe* and fills the space between the two characters. I have followed Gloria Pinney's restoration of the inscription and her interpretation that the Oriental saying κυβάρδα[ας] ἔστεικα ("I am the bendover") waits to receive gratification from the caricature of the epic hero, Eurymedon, who identifies himself with the words εὐρυμέδων εἶμ[ι] ("I am Eurymedon") (Pinney, 1984: 181-184; Kilmer, 1997: 137; *contra* Davidson, 1998: 170-171). The iconography as well as the location of the Eurymedon inscription, originating just to the right of his mouth, like the speech bubble in a cartoon, support this identification, because—at

least up to the high Classical period—dipinti labelling characters usually originated near the head of the relevant character, progressing forward if they were on the right side, and retrograde if they were on the left (Smith, 1999: 135-138; on labels see also Boardman, 1992: 45, pl. 56). The name Eurymedon brings to mind the famous Battle of the Eurymedon in 466, in which Kimon led the Athenians to victory. This date of this battle (which is, however, debated: Badian, 1993) coincides neatly with that of the vase, as determined by its shape and style.

Elsewhere I have suggested that the image on this *oinokhoe* is of the hunter, Eurymedon, probably the personification of the Battle of the Eurymedon, firmly grasping his weapon, as he prepares for the inevitable attack on his quarry, and ensuing victory (Smith, 1999). This sexual metaphor succeeds on perhaps three levels: it reminds the viewer of the submissive position in which Kimon had put Persia, in anticipation of the Battle of the Eurymedon (see Ploutarkhos, *Kimon* 12.1); of Athens' victory, the immediate outcome of that Battle; and of the consequences of that victory, i.e., that the Athenians then found themselves in a position to rape the Barbarians on the Eastern reaches of the Greek world. Eurymedon's distance from the archer, who symbolises the (peoples of the) East, could also serve as an ironic comment on Kimon's notorious inaction in the aftermath of the battle (Badian, 1993). The painter of the Eurymedon Vase thus may have intended a subtle political reference (both Schauenburg and Dover suggested more emphatic political references: Schauenburg, 1979; Dover 1978). In giving Eurymedon, the Greek hunter, the task of introducing himself with the words "I am Eurymedon," rather than merely labeling him, moreover, the painter has effected a sort of visual *prosopopoeia*, rather than personification (Smith, 1999: 139-141).

What motivated such an experiment? In adding the verb εἰμί to the noun εὐρυμέδων, and thus making the hunter announce himself, the artist clarifies that the addition of εὐρυμέδων is not nonsense, an inside joke, or a passing political slogan, but that 'Eurymedon' is central to

the meaning of the scene, however it might be interpreted. As personifications were not generally used in such an allegorical or didactic manner in the Archaic period this was an important point to make in the early Classical period. The Eurymedon experiment—to give a figure speech and thus a chance to introduce himself—was a bold theatrical manoeuvre that seems to have failed: no other figure on a Classical Athenian artwork announces himself in this manner. Perhaps this is because simpler identifying labels were clear enough. Or perhaps it was too explicit too early. The theatrical aspect of Eurymedon brings into question whether the artist was inspired by a theatrical performance. Could the Battle of the Eurymedon have been parodied on stage in the form of a Greek hunter? There is as yet neither proof nor reason for such speculation. When Athenian visual arts refer to theatrical arts they do so allusively, and refer to the characters, stories, and ideas rather than to actual plots and staging. While A.D. Trendall, T.B.L. Webster and their successors have usefully documented the relevance of vase paintings (especially those made in South Italy in the fifth-fourth centuries) to drama, there is as yet no evidence for the replication of actual theatrical scenes in Attic vase painting (Webster, 1967, 1978, and 1995; Trendall & Webster, 1971). The practice on the part of Attic vase painters of labelling the personifications creates 'texted' illustrations, not illustrated texts. There is in fact no pre-Roman evidence of illustrated texts, and Jocelyn Penny Small convincingly argues that even Roman codices with illustrations continue "the loose connection between story and picture" (Small, 2003: 175; see also Newby & Leader-Newby, 2007). Such a loose connection between story and picture is evidenced in the Attic document reliefs discussed in chapter 9. In some cases, as Robin Osborne and Alexandra Pappas have rightly asserted (2007: 154), writing on Archaic pottery was "...performance art. Writing does things on a pot, it engages with the viewer as the viewer uses the pot" (see also Stoddart & Whitley, 1988). Even if the viewer is unable to read, let alone read out loud, the word or words are decorative, there to be viewed and

understood as signifiers even by the illiterate. I am inclined to side with Boardman (2003) against the performative value of inscriptions on vases, as promoted by Anthony Snodgrass (2000: 22-34) and others (e.g. Osborne & Pappas, 2007).

Experimentation, on the part of some early Classical painters, in giving mythic, heroic, and personified characters meaningful clothing, attributes, and gestures, marks an important evolutionary phase in the didactic use of personifications. The image of Eurymedon pursuing an Oriental archer exemplifies the three major tendencies of vase painters in the early Classical period that ushered in the use of personifications. First, the images are restricted to two distinctive figures (one on each side) who are individually recognisable (one as a Greek hunter, the other as an Oriental archer), but together tell another story. Second, the characters are shown in a non-mythical scene. Third, the humanised figure of Eurymedon, which probably represents the Battle of the Eurymedon, indicates a locus for the scene and intimates the spread of Athenian power. This figure therefore functions like Athenian anthropomorphised representations of rivers and other geographical entities, including local personifications, which I discuss in chapter 3, 27-33. The Eurymedon experiment failed only insofar as endowing the 'personification' with speech did not catch on. From this point on Athenian artists preferred to use labels (in the nominative case) to identify their figures as personifications, whether or not they played a role in myth or religion.

The use of labels with personifications

Classical Greek artists, particularly in the fifth century, preferred to identify their personifications with labels that named the relevant entities represented by the figures. For example, Τύχη (ἡ) Τύχη was the personification of Fortune, as well as the noun meaning fortune, and Demos, (ὁ) Δῆμος, the personification of the Body Politic, as well as the noun denoting a particular group of people. The addition of labels facilitates recogni-

tion but also implies that these personifications did not merely stand in the place of inanimate entities—symbolic representations—but embodied the spirits of these non-human entities. Throughout antiquity Greeks practiced animism, the perception of a spirit within all natural phenomena (Burkert, 1985: 174). The gender of the personification follows the gender of the noun from which it took its name and meaning. Personifications might be confused with humans. Nowadays Greeks give children, especially daughters, the names of virtues, such as Eirene (Peace) and Sophia (Wisdom). Perhaps the saints with these names provided an intermediate step in the human adoption of such names. The vast majority of personifications of beneficent concepts, *i.e.* virtues, as well as political institutions and geographical entities, are feminine. Why are such nouns predominantly feminine in gender? Explanations for this linguistic phenomenon lie beyond the scope of the present work (but see Warner, 1985: 85-86; Campi di Castro, 1994: 151-157; Paxson, 1998: 149-179; Stafford, 2000: 27-35, following Stafford, 1998: 43-56). On the other hand, some have argued that women's names on vases were just invented names or—like *kalos* inscriptions (references to historical youths: Francis & Vickers, 1982: 265; Cook, 1989: 167; Parker, 1994: 365-373; Lissarague, 1999b; Slater, 1999: 143-161)—the nicknames of prostitutes (Cox, 1998: 173-174). The attributes and actions of personifications, however, fit their names, which shows that their naming is neither accident nor whim. The scale (intermediate between those of humans and gods/goddesses) also substantiates my belief that these labelled figures, female as well as male, represented the entities after which they were named, and were not envisioned by their creators as mere mortals who coincidentally had the names of nouns. On this point one might draw a parallel to old comedy in which the text brings attention to the meaning of certain names. The playwright Eupolis had such a 'meaningful' name himself ('Good city') and gave many of his characters, including some personifications, such 'explanatory' names (*Suda* 3657; see also Storey, 2003: 53-54).

Who would have read labels on ancient vases? The answer is simpler in the Archaic period (580–480), when artists wrote on pots to intimate something about status and education of patrons and themselves (Boardman, 1974: 200–201). ‘Writing’ on pots—artist’s signatures, *kalos* inscriptions, and labels of characters—also gave participants (consumers) in the aristocratic gatherings known as *symposia* games, jokes, and even literary references that were coordinated with the imagery on the cups out of which they drank (Neer, 2002). Each *symposion* was an elite gathering of aristocratic young men in an *andron* (private dining room for men). In the Classical or democratic period, the *symposion* was ‘democratised’ or brought out of the *andron* and into the *agora* (market place). Public dining, as it existed in the Classical period, was not so lavish as the *symposia* had been. Yet through this process of democratisation even sympotic pots became public.

A larger pool of people might have read words on Classical vases because of the public contexts into which the pots increasingly entered, through the development of the democracy (on a similar development in comedy see Kallet, 2009: 109–114). The aristocratic overtones that gave rise to and/or resulted in sympotic behaviour—including ‘inside’ jokes on pots—lingered well into the democratic period. They might have surfaced in the context of communal celebrations such as weddings that, however, included more members of the community, especially women. Indeed in the democracy, as the focus of communal activity moved from the *andron* to community celebrations, the iconographic focus changed from the world of men to the world of the *oikos* (household). Through a preliminary ‘statistical’ analysis of Athenian vase painting, based on queries to the Beazley Archive Database (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>) Bazant confirmed that in the fifth century scenes related to the ‘world of women’ (Nike, Eros, domestic and/or funerary) came to overshadow those related to the ‘world of men’ (Dionysos, Herakles, Theseus, warriors, revellers, athletes, lovers): “This is directly expressed in domestic scenes where the main figure is a woman and where men or youths appear only very rarely as visitors look-

ing on at women working, adorning or amusing themselves” (Bazant, 1990: 105). Bazant observed a gradual “...shift from the man’s iconography (group A1) to the woman’s iconography (group B), with the intermediary stage of the youth’s iconography (group A2)” (Bazant, 1990: 107; for similar conclusions see also Giudice, 2009). So the decorated vases simultaneously moved out of the *symposion* and (back) into the communal activities that concerned marriage, religion, and death (see also Csapo & Miller, 1998). This was the world of women, but not of women exclusively. Both the function and decoration of fifth-century vases attest what literature doesn’t tell us until the fourth century (Aristoteles), that in the democratic Athenian *polis* the civic virtues that enabled the government to function were shared among the entire community, starting at home. These vases also account for a large proportion of political personifications on pots, which could have appealed equally to men and women. In the context of weddings and other festivals, we might then identify at least three categories of ‘readers’: (1) the artists and/or their scribes; (2) the purchasers who might have been told the names, whether or not they could read them; (3) those to whom the artworks were given, as gifts. In the latter case the donors might bring the labels to the attention of the recipients. The belief that the god(s) would understand the message with or without labels or explanation would have surely satisfied the gift giver, in the case of religious votives.

What of the personifications for which labels are absent? Although most explicit personifications in Classical Athenian art are labeled, one must also consider those for which labels are unattested, especially in the case of personifications for whom few labeled examples survive. Labels may have been lost, due to the poor state of preservation of the art works. They may have also become unnecessary for personifications otherwise distinguished by recognisable characteristics and attributes: Ploutos (Wealth), for example, is the naked boy holding a *keras* (horn of plenty). Once the audience has familiarised itself with iconography, labels become superfluous (*contra* Messerschmidt, 2003: 161, who sees

the labels as necessary for the purposes of identification; see also Borg, 2005: 195). The names do, however, offer a supplementary meaning to those who might read them. Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos (**fig. 2.1**) makes it clear that a maternal carer nurtures bounty. The labels 'Eirene' and 'Ploutos' make the political statement that the wealth is nourished by the state of peace. Such labels are transmitted through word of mouth. The former are clearer and more tangible to modern scholars but not to ancient audiences, among whom literary rates were low. The remaining discussion in this section pertains to written labels, which are almost all that we have to go on.

It is unlikely that labels served as the primary form of identification in the Classical period, because they would have been unintelligible to most people of the populace of Athens, despite the democracy (on low literacy see Hedrick, 1999). The assumption of literacy as inherent to (liberal) democracy is a modern conception (Thomas, 1989: 1). Literacy was not ubiquitous among Athens' male citizens and *metics* (foreign workers) let alone women and slaves (Harris, 1989: 93-106, and Robb, 1994: 139-143; on ancient literacy see also Ong, 1982; Thomas, 1989 and 1992; Yunis ed., 2003). Scholars have perceived, however, a "growing alliance between the alphabet and the law" (Robb, 1994: 139) through the Classical period so that eventually "literacy dominated in the fourth century" (Hansen, 1989: 72). Whereas, or even because, literacy may have dominated legal affairs in fourth century Athens, if Hansen is correct, it may have lost its caché in the arts: there is actually a marked decrease in the frequency of labels on extant arts produced in fourth century Athens. This supports and expands on Anthony Snodgrass' allegation that inscriptions on vases decline after the Archaic period (Snodgrass, 2000: 30-33), although it is worth heeding Boardman's point (2003: 113) that there is a simultaneous decline in the number of inscribable vases at Athens. At the same time there is an overall increase both in the number of entities personified and in the number of extant works with personifications.

An apparent decline in the number of personifications on fourth century vases may then result from a dearth of identifying labels and a decline in the production of the red figure vases. Or perhaps personifications had become common enough by the late Classical period that they were identifiable without the labels, whether through context, attributes, or hearsay (on the latter see Thomas, 1989: 62). There are at least three trends that may have contributed to this overall decline in written labels: (1) the Athenian democracy witnessed growth in the non-elite but illiterate audience for its art; (2) the Athenian populace became more accustomed to seeing and identifying personifications in visual media around them (including dramatic performances); (3) the personifications become more explicit over time. This last point deserves particular attention. As more artists included personifications in their works, and embellished them with increasingly precise appearances, gestures, and contexts, a wide audience would have become familiar with them. The increasing repetition of particular gestures, pairings or groupings, and pictorial compositions, probably increased the 'readability' of personifications in the absence of labels. The Classical Athenians, as all ancient Greeks, were perhaps more reliant on images than on words for purposes of recognition.

The audience and function of art decorated with personifications became increasingly 'public' through the Classical period, however, and labels were unnecessary for some personifications on public monuments. In the fifth-century, personifications are most prevalent on vases, but by the fourth century they are most common in sculpture—freestanding as well as relief. This change in medium reflects a deeper social change at Athens: the growth in public art. Scholars have traditionally thought about vases as private belongings that were hidden away in the most private parts of the home (Pritchard, 1999; see also Schnapp, 1973: 307-321, and Jameson, 1990)—especially the *thalamos*, which served as bridal chamber, bedroom, storage space, and treasury (Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* 9.3; Nevett, 1999: 37)—despite their manifest public role in

religious activity and trade. Yet, during this time, vases served increasingly public functions: ancient Athens had a public culture, so that much of its privately owned art received a public showing at festivals and in sanctuaries (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1995). As noted above, before 460 painted vases predominated in *symposia*, parties in private homes (Neer, 2002), but later in the fifth century they served more ritual functions, including display in funerary and wedding processions (Smith, 2005a). Most fourth century political personifications, however, appeared on explicitly public art, such as freestanding and relief sculpture. This is due to a dramatic increase in the number of document reliefs and other art works displayed

in public places. Some of this art was publicly commissioned and displayed. Even the majority that is assumed to have been privately funded, however, was made for 'permanent' public display, as testimony to an official act. This growth in 'public' sculpture therefore reflects a growth in the amount of private wealth that existed and was used in the promotion of individual, group, and public interests. The increased scale and cost of these works intensifies this point. Most of the fourth-century figural vases with personifications were public commissions: **VP 60-68** are Panathenaic prize *amphorae*, which were awarded (filled with oil) as prizes in the Panathenaic Games (**figs. 10.1-2**).

CHAPTER THREE

HUMANISING GREEK PLACES AND SPACES: LOCAL PERSONIFICATIONS AND ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM

Local personifications represent and bear the names of places or other geographical features. In Athens' era of imperialism (480-431), culminating in outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, Athenian artists used these local personifications, in addition to symbolic figures such as those discussed in the preceding chapter, to allude to political issues. Not surprisingly, the spread of Athenian power predominates among these issues. In mythic terms most local personifications belong to the family of Okeanos (Ocean), his wife Tethys (Sea), their children, and other descendants (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 337-369; Homeros, *Ilias* 14.201). Those who had been illustrated before the Classical period—Okeanos and his sons, the rivers—had appeared as a mixture of human, snake, and bull. These figures were humanised, however, in the Classical period. Their descendants, who were the spirits of rivers, springs, islands, and cities, also took the form of Nereids and maenads, as well as (water) nymphs (Sourvinou-Inwood, 2005: 103-105). All of these female figures share the human form. While some such nymphs exist in myth and legend, their physical images seem to have been invented by the Classical artists. They can also be classed as local personifications because they represent the geographic phenomena after which they were named, primarily to indicate where a particular scene took place (Shapiro, 1988c; Mézger, 1996). I will explore three categories of local personifications in this chapter: the family of Okeanos (the daughters of Okeanos are referred to as Okeanids); other eponymous or name giving heroines of islands and cities, of which a special group are the Asopids (daughters of the river god Asopos); and Nereids (daughters of Nereus).

The family of Okeanos

Okeanos and Tethys (Ocean and Sea) were children of Ge and Ouranos (Earth and Heaven). Tethys became Okeanos' wife and bore him more than 3000 children (Homeros, *Ilias* 14.201, 302; Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 136, 337). Neither Okeanos nor Tethys should be taken as a true personification since the non-mythic sense of each word—ocean, sea—developed from the figure's original mythic role, whereas with true personifications the opposite seems to be the case. Yet both characters were used by Classical artists along with personifications. Okeanos' form changed from that of a fishy monster (similar to Nereus) in Archaic art to that of a man in Classical art. This development may have influenced the decision of other painters to represent all manner of local entities in the form of human beings. Okeanos' sons, the rivers, were shown as heroic men rather than bulls (as in the Archaic period) (Weiss, 1985).

Okeanos is labelled on two early Classical vases by Syriskos, both of which show him with his family but also with other figures whose presence is surprising. Okeanos stands with his mother, Ge Panteleia (Entire Earth), and Dionysos, on the front of a calyx krater now in Italy, formerly in Malibu, **VP 3 (fig. 3.1)**. Perhaps Syriskos showed him here as a beardless youth because he is with his mother. There is also a slight genealogical connection between Okeanos and the Argive kings, Balos and Epaphos (labelled), on the other side of the vase (**fig. 3.2**): Epaphos was the son of Zeus and Io, herself a granddaughter of Okeanos (and daughter of Argeia); Balos is the father of a younger Epaphos, in the same line (Tzetzes,

Lykophron 630). Dionysos is unrelated to Ge and Okeanos, however, and therefore unexpected in this context. Perhaps Syriskos had meant to advertise the worldwide popularity of Dionysos through his juxtaposition with Okeanos and Ge, the two elements that make up the world, just as later in Hellenistic and Roman imperial propaganda the presence of a cosmopolitan personification such as Oikoumene (Inhabited World) would emphasise the breadth of the empire (Smith, 1994: 93-94). Tethys is similarly included with Dionysos in a scene on a bell krater in London that depicts Hermes handing him, as a baby, over to his nurses (fig. 3.3). Here Tethys is one of the maenads who nurses Dionysos. Her surprising presence suggests the cosmopolitan importance of Dionysos. Tethys appears elsewhere as a maenad, for example on VP 20 (fig. 3.11), and is part of a broader trend of showing local personifications as maenads, which I will discuss at the end of this chapter (35-39).

Syriskos' second image of Okeanos also shows him among family, on VP 2 (figs. 3.4-5). Okeanos' sons, anthropomorphic rivers, join him in a quiet scene that wraps around this pointed *amphora* in a German private collection. Carina Weiss has read the label of the man behind Strymon as [ΣΚ]-Α-ΜΑΝΔ[Ρ]ΟΣ (Skamander) and that of the youth behind Okeanos as Μ[ΑΙ]-ΑΔΡΟ-Σ (Maian-der) (*Mythen und Menschen*, 1997: 106). The last male figure (on the right) on the front might be Adranos, according to the label, the beginning of which is preserved in the field to his right. This river is also personified, on a fourth century coin of Adranon (near Etna) (Arnold-Biucchi, 1981: 230). The artist indicates Okeanos' elder status by portraying him with a beard and white hair. His sons, Strymon, Neilos, and perhaps Skamander and Maiander, witness Herakles' rest in the garden of the Hesperides. Atlas, the bearded male figure behind Athena (Tiverios, 1991: 123), without a preserved label, provides another genealogical connection: he is the son of Okeanos (Diodoros of Sicily 4.27.2) and father of the Hesperides (Larson, 2001: 281-282). His beard emphasises his paternal role, although it is dark, in contrast to his own father's white beard.

Should the rivers, their brother Atlas, and indeed all of the children of Okeanos and Tethys—the eponymous heroes and heroines of rivers, fountains, and springs, themselves parents of islands and towns—be regarded here as true personifications? Despite the allusion to a myth—the 'last' labour of Herakles—on this vase, their presence is not dictated by that myth, so they do indeed serve as personifications. While their names are certainly old (some are found in Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 338-339), most of the myths about these and other rivers appear late in written sources or are not recorded. Ancient Greeks customarily used the name of a geographical feature not only as a place name but also as the name for the essential spirit within that feature, whether or not the spirit received worship. Anthropomorphic representations of rivers and springs, identified by labels in images that do not address their cultic functions, however, work as true personifications.

Syriskos may have aimed at genealogical documentation in decorating the pointed *amphora* with Okeanos and some of his children, but the collection of rivers also suggests a political theme: together they indicate the breadth of the known Greek world at the time. Strymon was the largest river of Northern Greece, on which later in the century (437/6) Perikles founded Amphipolis. Neilos, to the South, was important to Athenians through their military involvement in Egyptian affairs in the 460s. Skamander and Maiandros are important East Greek rivers, in the North (Troas) and South (between Lydia and Karia), respectively. The Hesperides, at the (Western) ends of the world, intensify the suggestion of geographical breadth. And Athena is found at the centre of the scene, just as Athens was at the metaphorical centre of the world through which these rivers flowed.

The Athenian origin and outlook of Syriskos are evident in his art. Not only is Athena placed at the centre of the scene but all of the other figures are dressed like Athenians, wearing simple *himatia*. Whereas foreigners in Archaic and Classical Athenian art and local personifications in the Roman periods are usually depicted with

the marks, clothing, or other identifying characteristics of the regions from which they hailed, the rivers on Syriskos' pointed *amphora*, despite their non-Attic identities, are shown in the same manner as typical Athenian heroes. Perhaps this is meant to suggest that they have become absorbed into the realm of Athenian power. Until the Roman period, incidentally, river gods conservatively retain this heroic attire, with a few exceptions (Lee, 2006; see also Gais 1978).

Many of Okeanos and Tethys' 3000 daughters, springs and fountains, are shown frequently on the coins of non-Athenian cities—usually near the geographic entities that they personified—but they were not popular in Athenian art. Clearly conservative Athenian coinage—with its images of Athena and her owl—had no room for them, but the occasional spring nymph is notable in the repertoire of Attic vase painting. Amymone, the eponymous heroine and nymph of a spring at Lerna, in Argolis, and a daughter of Danaos, was better known as a victim of Poseidon's sexual advances (Aiskhylos, *Amymone*. T 70 Radt; Apollodoros 2.1.4; Euripides, *Phoinissai* 187; Hesiodos, *Ehoiai* [frs. 122-129 Merkelbach-West]; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 169; Nonnos, *Dionysiaka* 8.240-242; Pausanias 2.37.1, 4; Pindaros, *Pythionike* 9.112-116; Propertius 3.18.47; Sch. Homeros, *Ilias* 4.171; Strabon 8.6.8; Larson, 2001: 53, 92, 150). The painters (and purchasers) of vases in this early Classical period may have been more interested in the theme of pursuit than in Amymone herself for she was not an Attic heroine. The Painter of the Birth of Athena, 460-450, emphasised the theme by pairing the Amymone pursuit with that of Aigina by Poseidon's brother, Zeus (Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 1981: 369 s.v. Aigina nos. 24-25; Simon, 1981a: 744 s.v. Amymone nos. 20a-b, pl. 600; Caskey & Beazley, 1931-1963: 2.90; Ricci, 1955: 291-292 figs. 47-48; see also the discussion of Aigina below). He showed each scene on either side of a pair of identical *pelikai* found in the same tomb at Cerveteri (Banditaccia Necropolis: tomb 9, zone A, with VG 20847): Rome, Villa Giulia 20846 (ARV² 494.2; *Add²* 250; BA 205561) and 20847 (ARV² 494.3; *Add²* 250; BA 205562). Amymone was popular on the Athe-

nian stage at this time: *Amymone* was the title of Aiskhylos' satyr play in the tetralogy that included *Hiketides* (POxy 20 [1952] 2256 fr. 3; Garvie, 1969: 2). And again, the myth became surprisingly popular among vase painters in the period from 420-380. The only other labeled appearance of springs in Attic vase painting comes in the latter period (420-410), on a *pelike* attributed to the Kadmos Painter: Munich, Antikensammlung (ex. Canino Coll.) cat. 2360 (ARV² 1186.30; *Add²* 341; BA 215719), where the springs Arethousa and Premnousia and are shown as maenads with satyrs, Hybris and Skopa. Kleopatra Kathariou has argued that Amymone's popularity among Attic artists can be connected to the contemporary politics: in both of these periods (460-450, 420-380) Argos and Sparta were engaged in disputes that coincidentally brought Argos closer to Athenians (Kathariou, 2001; see also Said, 1993: 167-189, on Argos in fifth century Athenian tragedy). Whether painters followed playwrights or vice versa is unclear, but both seem to have been responding to the same political climate.

The daughters of Asopos

Aigina and her sisters, the daughters of the river god Asopos, thus some of the grandchildren of Okeanos and Tethys, are a special group of local personifications whose popularity dramatically increased in the early to high Classical period. The names of the Asopids—Aigina, Harpina, Korkyra, Nemea, Salamis, and Thebe—correspond to those of islands and towns, some of which were politically important to Athens in the Classical period (Larson, 2001: 139-140). Zeus' pursuit of Aigina, the eponymous nymph of the island, is popularly depicted on late Archaic-early Classical Attic vases (Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 1981: 367-371; Larson, 2001: 37-39, 144-145). Images on these vases (of which there are more than 30 examples) show her sisters watching the rape in dismay, or running to their father, Asopos, for help (on the sisters, see Bowra, 1938). The same scene was probably shown on lost bronze statuary group(s), that the Phliasians dedicated at the

Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia (Pausanias 5.22.6) and Delphoi (Pausanias 10.13.6) in the fifth century (Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 1981: 369 s.v. Aigina no. 30). Aigina may also have been shown on an encaustic painting created by an otherwise unknown artist named Elasippos (Brunn, 1889: 95 para. 125-126; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 1981: 369 s.v. Aigina no. 29). Plinius mentions this painting only briefly (in a corrupt passage):

It is not determined who was the first to paint pictures in wax... Also Elasippus [or Lysippos], who has inscribed on his picture of Aigina 'burnt in,' which he would not have accomplished if the process of encaustic had not been invented. (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.122)

There are two entwined problems with this passage: first, whether Aigina refers to the figure on the painting or the home of the artist, and second, the name of the artist. Harris Rackham's translation of "Elasippus quoque Aeginae picturae suae inscripsit ἐνέκαεν" understands Aigina to refer to the artist's home: "Also Elasippus of Aegina has inscribed on a picture ἐνέκαεν (burnt in)" (Rackham, 1912: 351). But this Elasippos is otherwise unknown. It is more likely that Elasippos is a corruption of Lysippos (of Sikyon), in which case "Aeginae" must refer to the figure represented on the painting: Plinius was well aware of Lysippos' real home (*Naturalis historia* 34.61). It is also unlikely that Plinius would have mentioned the painting of such a famous painter, or of any other painter for that matter, without referring at least to the subject. Even if this painting depicted Aigina, according to my translation, however, it remains unclear whether she was shown in a political or a mythical context, or whether the painting should even be included in the corpus of Classical Athenian art works.

In answer to Boardman's query whether this 'otherwise unimportant' scene—Zeus' rape of Aigina—was popularised by anything political or military (Boardman, 1975: 224), Karim Arafat has argued for a political justification for the sudden rise in the early Classical period (and subsequent fall) in the popularity of the myth (Arafat,

1997: 110-115). He argues that Zeus pursuing the nymph Aigina represents Athens' attempt to control the nearby island of Aigina, culminating in that island's incorporation into the Delian League in 458 (regarding the date see: *CAH* V² 501; Figueira, 1991: 115-120; compare also Robin Osborne's analysis of the political motivations behind replacing the frieze on the Temple of Aphaia that showed Zeus raping Aigina, in the early Classical period [Osborne, 1996: 326]). Arafat suggests that Zeus is appropriate to the story because of literary precedence and his legendary role as pursuer. While I agree with Arafat that Zeus is not entirely inappropriate (Arafat, 1997: 114-115; see also Shapiro, 1991), he fails to provide conclusive reasons for the use of Zeus as a cipher for Athens or for the cessation in the depiction of Aigina's pursuit on Athenian vases in the middle of the fifth century (Arafat, 1997: 115). A contemporary Pindaric fragment also reports this tale, and names Zeus as the culprit (Pindaros fr. 52f. 134-140 Snell-Mähler). The equation of the island Aigina with its eponymous nymph is not only convenient but entirely natural in the realm of ancient thought, so it is more than likely that the vase painters would have recognised the potential appeal of this scene among their customers at a time when Athens sought control of Aigina.

Aigina's sisters, Nemea and Thebe, were pictured in their own right, as geographical indicators rather than as primary mythic characters (for Nemea see Fracchia, 1992; for Thebe see below, 32). Many Archaic representations of Herakles' struggle with the Nemean lion show an unknown and unlabelled woman standing on his side (Boardman *et al.*, 1990: 32). On none of the fifteen or more examples of this scene is the nymph named, but many have identified her as Nemea. Labeled local personifications as accessory characters are, however, unattested in the Archaic period (Stansbury-O'Donnell, 2006: 5, 13, 213-214; Korte-Konte, 1979). Even Classical examples are unclear. In her discussion of a *hydria* attributed to the Alkmene Painter (520-510), Reading (Pennsylvania) 30.301.1 (*ABV* 282.1;

Add² 74; BA 320343) showing Herakles' victory over the Nemean lion, Ann Steiner concludes that the identity of the bystanding nymph must remain uncertain (Steiner, 2004: 430-431). A Classical (East Greek?) gemstone in London (dating to the end of the fifth century) shows another young woman, also thought to be Nemea, bringing water to Herakles, while the lion, vanquished, lies at his feet: London, BM 1890.9-20.1 (Boardman *et al.*, 1990: 27 s.v. Herakles no. 1920, pl. 48; Fracchia, 1992: 732 s.v. Nemea no. 9). Nike, hovering above, awards the wreath to the unnamed woman, surprisingly, in this moment of Herakles' victory. As there is no identifying label or explanatory attribute on the gem, however, this nymph is no more likely to represent Nemea than the young woman on the Archaic vases. Other candidates for the nymph's identity might be one of the Hesperides or even the Nereid, Galene, whose name means tranquility. On a *stamnos*, attributed to the Harrow Painter, 470-460—Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 289 (*ARV²* 274.35, 1641; *CVA München* 5.32-33, pls. 240.5 [955], 241 [956]; BA 202871)—the labeled Nereid Galene attends the struggle between Herakles and the Nemean lion. While it is unusual that Galene is the only Nereid present, Herakles' association with her, and with other Nereids dates back to the Archaic period, on a cup by Oltos (520-510), now in Rome, Villa Giulia (*ARV²* 1623.66bis; *Add²* 165; BA 275028). Herakles had a long association with water deities, including Nereids, Hesperids, and of course Akheloös (Gais, 1978). It is more likely, then, that Galene or even an unnamed nymph, rather than Nemea, is represented on all of the Herakles scenes that show a young nymph calmly (as suggested by Galene's name) watching his defeat of the lion. If the nymph was intended to represent Nemea, as a personification of place, the artists failed to indicate her true meaning either with labels or attributes. An unlabeled woman, who has been identified as Nemea, and an older man attend a relaxed Herakles, on a *khous* (small wine jug) by the Spinelli Painter (410-400), in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 164506 (*ARV²* 1403.2; BA 250174). As there is no indication

that this scene even concerned the Nemean lion labour, however, I agree with Beazley's suggestion that she was a Hesperid, on the basis of the leafy branch that Herakles offers her. Of course the ornamental branch is inconclusive, but the identification as a Hesperid would at least explain Herakles' relaxed pose: he reached the Hesperides only after he finished his other labours. The older man might then be identified as Okeanos, grandfather of the Hesperides, or their father, Atlas.

A glance at South Italian iconography might help us to identify Nemea. The only sure extant representation of Nemea in vase painting is a scene of Nemea beseeching Zeus, on an Apulian volute krater attributed to the Darius Painter, 340-330: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81394 (*RVAp* 2.49642; Pugliese Carratelli ed., 1996: no. 335). This scene is surely relevant to the funeral of the obscure Nemean hero, Arkhemoros (Apollodoros 3.6.4), shown in the lower register on the same side of the vase. Aiskhylos informs us that Nemea is the mother of Arkhemoros (Aiskhylos, *Nemea* F 149a Radt; see Pache, 2004: 95-134). Perhaps one might then explain as Nemea the woman present on the enigmatic scene—thought to represent the death of Arkhemoros—on a white ground stemless cup attributed to the Sotades Painter, 470-460, London, BM 1892.7-18.3 (*ARV²* 763.3; *Add²* 286; BA 209460). The identities of the nymphs who attend Herakles, however, are a different matter and remain conjectural at best.

We can be confident that Nemea, however, was personified in an entirely different context in Classical Athens. Several ancient authors cite a painting at Athens, **MP 4**, probably painted by Aglaophon of Thasos, for the politician Alkibiades, who was shown seated in Nemea's lap (see also the discussion of this painting in chapter 9, 87-88). The ancient discussions connect this image with Alkibiades' victories at the Panhellenic games, so it is likely that the image of Nemea bore no resemblance to those that showed Nemea with either Herakles or the hero Arkhemoros. A contemporary *pinax* or plaque, **MP 7**, however, may allude to Herakles:

...Nemea, seated on a lion and carrying a palm branch, next to whom stands an old man with a staff over whose head hangs a picture of a two-horse chariot—a picture on which Nikias wrote that he did it in the encaustic technique....
(Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.27; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 170)

The palm branch suggests that this *pinax* was another victory monument. The victory theme is enhanced by the chariot scene pictured above the old man. The lion, however, recalls the first labour of Herakles (as on the gemstone discussed above, 31). Could Nikias have intended an allusion to Herakles in complimenting his (unnamed) Panhellenic victor?

Thebe, Aigina's 'twin' sister (Pindaros, *Epinikoi Isthmionike* 8.16-20), appears in one or more scenes pertaining to the encounter of Kadmos and Harmonia, and may have served to localise that myth (Vlassopoulou, 1994: 914-916). Larson rightly suggests that, in twinning Thebe with Aigina, Pindaros alludes to the shared ideologies—conservative, aristocratic and mostly anti-Athenian—of these two places (Larson, 2001: 39). In the visual sources, a label attests Thebe's presence at the meeting of Kadmos and Harmonia on only one Attic example, the name vase, a *hydria* (water jug) of the Kadmos Painter, 420-410, where she is shown on the opposite side from Harmonia, but seated in a similar posture to that heroine: Berlin Museums F 2634 (ARV² 1187.33; *Add²* 341; BA 215723). On a *hydria* in the manner of the Kadmos Painter (410-400) in St. Petersburg—St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum T 1859.2 (ARV² 1187.2; BA 215729)—the same story is shown in a very different composition. No characters are labeled, but the snake rising behind the seated female figure on the right identifies her quite securely as Harmonia (the nearby snake on at least four other Attic vases with similar compositions also identify her: Shapiro, 1993: 100; Vlassopoulou, 1994: 914-915). Kadmos killed the snake (or dragon) at this spring and sowed its teeth, from which grew Theban men (Pausanias 9.10.1; Apollodoros 3.4.1; for other stories that connect Kadmos with snakes see Apollodoros 3.4.2 and 3.5.4). The two

seated women on the left might then be Thebe, Dirke, or Ismene (Larson, 2001: 142; see also Matz, 1913: 76, and Shapiro, 1988c: 206). The latter two were eponymous nymphs of Theban springs/rivers, although Ismene is identified in later art as the spring at which Kadmos found Harmonia (Berger-Doer, 1990: 799-801). There are no secure identifications of Ismene on Attic vases, although she commonly attends this scene on South Italian vases, where she is sometimes identified by inscription. Matters are also complicated by the conflation of Thebe with Dirke in mythic sources, although Dirke is not labelled as such in the iconography discussed here.

Thebe also appears separately from Harmonia on one Attic vase. A painter near the Lewis Painter, 450-440, depicted and labeled her on the back of a vase in Jerusalem, VP 6 (figs. 3.6-7). Thebe retreats from Demeter, with a lingering glance and with her arm stretched towards the goddess. On the front of this vase, Salamis, the eponymous nymph and personification of the island near Athens, herself a daughter of Asopos (Manakidou, 1994: 652-653; Lawton, 1995a: 59), faces another female figure. This latter figure, who serves a parallel role to that of Demeter on the back, is probably Kore, as she is taller than Salamis, so probably a goddess in her own right; a priestess probably would have been represented as smaller than the personification. Karl Schefold and Franz Jung suggest that the artist may have been hinting at a potential rapprochement between Thebes and Athens (represented by Demeter on the back) on the model of the friendly status between Salamis and Athens (represented by Kore on the front) (Schefold & Jung, 1989: 87). The artist probably chose Demeter and Kore because they were the Athenian deities whose major sanctuary was nearest Salamis, and because their traditional role as the teachers of religion and agriculture to the rest of Greece (see *Hymnos Homerikos eis Demetran*), might also have made them a suitable mythic parallel for the cultural influence of Athens. This vase is the clearest early example of the use of local personifications in non-mythic contexts.

The most famous image of Salamis in antiquity was a statue said to have been erected at Delphoi, by all the Greeks, to commemorate their victory at Salamis over the Persians (480/79) (S 1).¹

As for the Greeks... First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoinikian triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmos, where it was until my lifetime, the second at Sounion, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphoi; of this they made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexandros the Makedonian. (Herodotos 8.121)

Herodotos, who may not have seen the image himself, specifies—perhaps mistakenly—that the statue was the image of a man (ἀνδριάνς), not merely an anthropomorphic image. Her attribute, a prow (ἄκρωτήριον νεός), however, is a clear symbol of the naval victory that she commemorated. The ship's prow, also called an *aphlaston*, became a common attribute of Nike (Victory) in Hellenistic coinage (Bellinger & Berlincourt, 1962). This Salamis, with her single attribute, may then have looked something like Nikai bearing attributes (e.g. figs. 2.4-5).

The early Classical statue of Salamis at Delphoi may have been copied in the high Classical period, on the painted decoration of the fences in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (440-430). Pausanias tells us that Salamis was here shown with Hellas (Pausanias 5.11.5; see, most recently, Hurwit, 2005: 141). The image of Salamis on DR 39 (see the discussion in chapter 9, 104) may have likewise copied the statue at Delphoi. Hellas is likewise found in statuary, S 9, also to be discussed in chapter 9, 102. Pausanias does not discuss why Salamis and Hellas were shown together in this composition at Olympia, among gods and heroes, but does note that Salamis again carried

the ornament from the ships' prows (τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραϊς ποιούμενον κόσμον: Pausanias 5.11.5). The obvious political point is that Hellas was victorious against the Persians at Salamis in 480/79. The painting was therefore an appropriate decoration for a Panhellenic sanctuary. On a slightly subtler level, the monument advertises the importance of Athens' role in the battle, for Salamis was under Athenian control at this time. These paintings were creations of Panainos of Athens, brother or nephew of Pheidias (Strabon 8.3.30; Harrison, 1996: 18), so they might even be considered Athenian products, perhaps propaganda to emphasise Athens' role as a naval power in the 440s and 430s. Like the local personifications in early Classical Athens, they seem to advertise the importance of Athens to Greece, and the breadth of the Athenian empire.

Eleusis and more eponymous heroines

The geographical reference is unmistakable in the earliest instance of a named local personification: Eleusis, the personification of the Athenian site of the Mysteries (Gondicas, 1986), is labelled on a *skyphos* attributed to Makron, c. 490-480, in London, VP 1 (fig. 3.8). Eleusis's primary function is to identify where the event shown—the departure of Triptolemos—took place. There may also have been a political motivation behind her inclusion. Kevin Clinton has suggested that she may have advertised the importance of Eleusis, an Athenian *deme*, as the foremost centre of the worship of Demeter and Persephone (Clinton, 1992: 124; see also Matheson, 1994: 345-375). This hypothesis receives some support from her appearance slightly later on a footed *dinos* (mixing bowl) attributed to the Syleus Painter, now in Malibu, VP 4 (fig. 3.9), on which she is assembled with the Eleusinian divinities, as well as Hippothoon, the eponymous hero of Attic tribe Hippothontis, and Kalamites, the eponymous hero of the Attic festival Kalamaia (held in the spring at Eleusis). While these local heroes further emphasise the Athenian locus of the Mysteries, neither may be regarded as a true personification as their

¹ Thanks to their proximity to Salamis it is more than likely that Athenian craftsmen were responsible for this work, for which reason I include it in my catalogue of Athenian art works.

names are adapted from, but not identical to, the names of the tribe/event that each of them represents. Eleusis may have been included in many more Eleusinian scenes throughout the Classical period, e.g. **VP 15** (fig. 8.2) and **VP 72**, but she is not labeled again until the second half of the fourth century, when she appears with Eniautos, the personification of the Year (indicating the annual occurrence of the Eleusinian procession) on an Apulian *loutrophoros*, attributed to the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148, also in Malibu: Getty 86.AE.680 (RVAp Suppl. 2.180.278.2 pl. 47.2; Clinton, 1994b: 417 s.v. Ploutos no. 12, pl. 342). Despite Eleusis' early appearance in the corpus of Attic vases, however, local personifications representing specific towns do not become popular until substantially later in the Classical period (see chapter 9). The evidence is variable and tenuous for the personification of Krete, the eponymous heroine of the island, herself a daughter of Hesperos; as her political relevance at Athens is slight I omit a detailed discussion of her image. A woman identified as Krommyo, however, is found on the same vase (**VP 8**) as a woman identified as Medea, Marathon, or even Phyle (of the Attic *deme* of Marathon), which I discuss in chapter 9, 96. A female *deme* heroine, Melite warrants discussion here because of her confusion with the Nereid of the same name.

Melite, whose genealogy is confused, is shown on several late Archaic-Classical vases (Spetsieri-Choremi, 1992: 446-448). She is the daughter of Hoples (Apollodoros 3.15.6), Myrmex (Hesiodos fr. 225 Merkelbach-West), or Apollon's son, Dios (Musaïos 2 B9 DK [=Philokhoros 328 F 27 FGrH]). Melite is also the name of a Nereid (Icard-Gianolio, 1992), the wife of the Attic king Aigeus, and/or an Attic *deme* (Larson, 2001: 161). She appears with several other labelled women, who have been tentatively identified as Nereids in the context of a wedding, on a type A *pyxis* (lidded container) by Makron (490-480), in Athens, NM 15224, formerly AM 560 (ARV² 479.336; Add² 247; BA 205019). Judith Barringer has suggested such Nereids on *pyxides* symbolised the marital rite of passage (Barringer, 1995:

122, 126-27, and 208 no. 203). This is Melite's earliest appearance, but in the 420s, she is shown again among her Nereid sisters on the B scene of the Eretria Painter's name vase, an *epinetron* (knee cover) in Athens, **VP 19**, perhaps itself a wedding gift (Smith, 2005b: 25). An earlier vase painting, the name vase (a cup) of the Kodros Painter, **VP 11** (fig. 3.10), however, shows Melite not with Nereids, but in a mythic scene of the departure of the heroes Aias and Menestheus, to war. Brian Shefton cites some obscure references that would qualify her inclusion with these characters in a mythic context (Shefton, 1956: 163 n. 29): Melite may have been one of Aigeus' wives, here shown with his other wives, Aithra and Medea, to emphasise the departure from the Attic homeland, where women remained during wartime (Istros 334 F 10 FGrH [=Athenaios 13.4]). This Melite might serve a secondary purpose, as the eponymous nymph and personification of the Attic *deme*. Whether the Kodros Painter intended her to represent her own *deme* directly, or that of Aigeus indirectly, Melite's inclusion emphasises that the action took place in Attika, and she therefore serves a patriotic purpose.

The island of Delos is personified at least twice on Attic vases (according to inscriptions), and once in earlier literature, in conversation with Leto, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollon* (*Hymnos Homeros eis Apollon* 62-82, where Delos is a true personification, not divinised; see also Larson, 2001: 182-183). She appears in this *Hymn* to indicate the birthplace of Artemis and Apollon. She serves the same purpose on a Kerch *pyxis* in Athens where, along with Eilithyia, she assists Leto at the birth of Apollon, in the presence of Athena: Athens, NM 1635 (BA 2090; Kahil & Icard-Gianolio, 1992: 258 s.v. Leto no. 6, pl. 130; Méztger, 1996: 263). Kerch vases are a stylistic group of Athenian wares from the early fourth century, which are named for their primary export market on the shores of the Black Sea). Delos was technically independent and became important as the centre of the Delian League (established in 478). She was under Athenian control, however, by the high Classical period, when the

Delian League had become the Athenian empire. It is not surprising, then, that this non-Athenian place would be personified on Attic vases at this time. Her only explicit appearance with the Delian triad is on a type A *pyxis* attributed to the Marlay Painter (440-430), Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 20298 (ARV² 1277.22; Add² 357; BA 216209). Delos, without label, may appear on several other vases (Métzger, 1996: 264-266). She is here seated on an *omphalos*, behind an olive tree, with a tripod in the distance. These three indicators, particularly the *omphalos*, seem more appropriate to Apollon's adopted home, Delphoi. Perhaps the Marlay Painter intentionally combined the two loci of Apollon's worship. Gallet de Santerre inferred a politico-religious purpose for this vase on the basis that Athens would have favoured a rapprochement of these two centres of worship (Gallet de Santerre, 1976, *contra* Bruneau, 1985). In light of the use of such local personifications in seemingly politico-religious contexts on contemporary and earlier vases (especially the Salamis/Thebe *skyphos*, VP 6, figs. 3.6-7), Gallet de Santerre's inference is not beyond the realm of possibility. Yet Athens seems to have exerted little influence over the Delphic sanctuary during the mid-Classical period, so Delos' appearance with the Delian triad is not necessarily 'political.' It is tempting, however, to see her appearance on the Eretria Painter's cup, VP 20 (fig. 3.11), as political. Here she joins with her 'mother', Tethys, and other islands—Euboia and Lemnos (important members of Athens' maritime confederacy)—in a celebratory dance. Perhaps they are celebrating the benefits of political union in the Delian League under Athenian leadership. The satyr on the tondo (centre of the cup) is named Demon (ΔΗΜΟΝ) (fig. 3.12). Whether this name is a misspelling or an intentional adaptation of ΔΗΜΟΣ, it may have alluded to Athens' Demos (Body Politic). Demon/Demos is at the centre of the vase just as the Demos of Athens thought of itself at the centre of the Delian League. I will return to the personification Demos in chapter 9.

Nymphs, Nereids, and maenads

In the high Classical period artists began to label nymphs not only with the names of geographic entities but also with those of things relating to Dionysos, e.g. Methyse (Drunkenness). As with the unlabelled nymphs cavorting with Dionysos and the silens on Attic (predominantly Archaic) black-figure vases, however, these nymphs cannot be securely identified as maenads; it seems that maenadism is, however, an attribute of certain personifications (Smith, 2005a; see also Smith, 2007, with regard to satyrs). Oltos, an Archaic vase painter (520-500), had first labelled these nymphs and silens with names of places and other nouns. The trend seems to have caught on in earnest in the mid-Classical period (460-440), especially in the work of the Villa Giulia Painter. Neither the attributes nor context of Oltos' nymphs and silens suggest that his characters were intended to represent the nouns after which they were named, although their appearance and actions (cavorting with silens) foreshadow the maenads of the Classical period. The Villa Giulia Painter and his successors, however, gave these female figures—be they nymphs or maenads—names that match those of local personifications, exemplified by Melite, discussed above. Despite the obvious conflation of nymphs and maenads, however, scholars have hitherto treated named maenads, as well as silens/satyrs separately from personifications and have generally attributed no significance to the naming of the figures (e.g. Simon, 1986: 700-705 s.v. Eirene, where Eirene as a maenad is treated separately from Eirene in human form). Whereas satyrs, maenads' male companions, were theatrical impersonations of mythic characters that occasionally represent entities, in a manner closer to *prosopopoeia* than to personification, maenads were thought by the Greeks to be real women, and are human in form as well as function. Scholars similarly understand maenads as 'real' women (Keuls, 1985: 27-28; Joyce 1997; Moraw, 1998). It naturally follows that if maenads are confused or conflated with human females in Greek art and text, so are

nymphs conflated with both groups. As Robin Osborne has said, “‘nymph’ and ‘maenad’ are terms that work differently and are not mutually exclusive” (Osborne, 1997: 197 n. 32; see also Padgett 2000, 52; other scholars, however, maintain strict distinctions between maenads and nymphs: Edwards, 1960: 79; Hedreen, 1994; Carpenter, 1995: 314; and Larson, 2001: 74-76). The name labels of Classical nymphs, hitherto understood as reflecting on the characters of the figures they identify, might therefore also be considered personifications, whether or not they also appear as maenads. Their usage, beginning with the early Classical vase painters, is an important and persistent element in the evolution of personifications in Greek art. In later chapters I will discuss some important personifications of political ideas that were occasionally, but not always, represented as Dionysiac nymphs or maenads.

In ancient Greek art maenads are only distinguishable from other human females through their attributes and actions. The Greek patriarchy regarded human females as naturally inclined towards madness and irrationality, like animals, and believed that every woman tended towards maenadism (for specific women who practiced maenadism see Henrichs, 1978). As maenads are inspired to frenzy by Dionysos, their distinguishing attributes are common to Dionysos’ circle—*thyrsos*, ivy wreath, and *nebris* (fawn skin) or *pardalis* (leopard skin). In later periods they are also given frenzied expressions. Unlike Dionysos’ male companions, the satyrs, maenads rarely exhibit sexual arousal and are almost always clothed; a notable exception is Paidia on a cup attributed to the Jena Painter, c. 400-390: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 492 (ARV² 1512.18; BA 230974). She has no maenad attributes, but is naked and engaged in sexual intercourse with a satyr, Khorillos. Some personifications that are appropriately Dionysiac, such as Komoidia (Comedy) and Tragoidia (Tragedy), always appear in the Classical period as maenads; Edith Hall’s recent article (2007) on the subject details later personifications of tragedy. They bear the tools of their trades, the theatrical masks that were later given to Thaleia and Melpomene, the

muses of these literary genres. Kraipale (Hang-over), a seated maenad whose appearance is quite pleasant, although her demeanor reveals her unhealthy state, is perhaps the most self-explanatory personification shown as a maenad (Smith, 2005a: 218-219, fig. 15.7; see also Stafford, 2000 and 2001: 10-11). She appears with Sikinnos and Thymedia (Gladness of Heart) or Thymelia (Honey-flavoured wine) on the name vase of the Kraipale Painter (430-420), Boston, MFA 00.352 (ARV² 1214.1, 1685, 1687; *Add*² 348; BA 216561), leaning on her *thyrsos*, while her limp right hand barely holds up Dionysos’ *kantharos*.

The clearest instance of the overlap between nymphs and maenads are the female figures, the ‘Nymphs of Nysa’, to whom Hermes entrusted baby Dionysos (Homeros, *Ilias* 6.132-135; *Hymnos Homeros eis Dionysos*; Bakkhylides 26.3-10). Literary sources tell us that the power of Lyssa (Madness) transformed these nymphs from nurses to maenads. While Lyssa is cited in Aiskhylos’ *Xantriai* (fr. 169 Radt) her presence is inferred in Euripides’ *Bakkhai*, when her hounds are invoked (977-978; Dodds ed., 1960, 199, discusses Lyssa’s other appearances in Attic tragedy). Aiskhylos’ *Xantriai* was probably contemporary with the career of the Villa Giulia Painter, and may have inspired this and other representations by him; a satyr, rather than Dionysos, brings Dionysos to the (unlabeled) maenads on the Villa Giulia Painter’s *hydria* from Nola, New York, MMA X.313.1 (ARV² 623.69; *Add*² 271; BA 207223). Neither Lyssa nor any other monstrous or frenzied figure, however, is shown in Classical scenes of this event. On a nearly matching pair of kraters, the Villa Giulia Painter (460-450) shows Hermes handing Dionysos over to his nurses, who have already become maenads, as indicated by their *thyrsos* and, to a lesser degree, names. The maenads are named Tethys and Mainas (Maenad) on the bell krater in London (fig. 3.3) and one is labeled Methyse (Drunkennes) on the same painter’s calyx krater in Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II6 1 732 (ARV² 618.4; *Add*² 270; *Para* 398; BA 207152). The Villa Giulia Painter may have included Tethys on the one vase to emphasise the breadth of the realm of

Dionysos (Smith, 2005a: 222). Methyse emphasises a light-hearted, but no less important aspect of Dionysos, the inebriation produced by wine, of which Dionysos was patron. Mainas should not be taken as a personification, however, for the word Maenad, MAINΑΣ, is merely descriptive, meaning “a mad woman.” Methyse and Mainas appeared again, probably in the same decade, on the name vase of the Methyse Painter (ARV² 632.3; *Add²* 272; BA 207338), a close associate of the Chicago Painter, and perhaps a student of the Villa Giulia Painter.

Just as the Villa Giulia Painter and other artists blurred the distinction between nymphs and maenads, there is occasional overlap between the maenads and other groupings of women. While maenads were women dressed up to party with Dionysos, Nereids were women in bridal or seafaring contexts (on the naming of Nereids see Lissarrague, 1998: 167). Galene (Calm, Tranquility) is a maenad and a Nereid in different contexts. She appears as a maenad on a *pelike* in Empúries, VP 52 (fig. 5.3). She is found with Thaleia, among other Nereids, on a type A *pyxis* attributed to the Eretria Painter, 430-420, in London, BM 1874.5-12.1 (ARV² 1250.32; *Add²* 354; *Para* 469; BA 216969). Where she appears alone with Herakles she is probably also a Nereid, as discussed above (31). Melite (who is also the eponymous heroine of the Attic *deme* by that name, as noted above, 34) appears as a nymph and as a Nereid, both in art and in literature. Thalea (Good Cheer) appears twice as a maenad. She is shown among other maenads and satyrs on the name vase (an *amphora*) of the group of Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 3235, c. 410-400 (ARV² 1316.1; *Add²* 362; BA 220519). She also appears as a maenad on the *pelike* in Empúries, VP 52. She is distinguished, by the spelling of her name, as well as her status as a maenad, from the multifaceted Thaleia, who is best known as a muse (in the Hellenistic period: Queyrel, 1992: 991-1013) or earlier as one of the Kharites (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 909), a Nereid, a maenad (especially in the oeuvre of Oltos), or South Italian heroine (the eponymous nymph of a place near Aitna, Sicily: Kossatz-Deissmann,

1994k). In ancient written sources, Thaleia's identity is likewise variable, but she appears most significantly as one of Kharites (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 909; Bakchylides 13.186-187).

Is this conflation of maenads, Nereids, and personifications a mere coincidence? The two artists who used Nereids with the names of personifications—Oltos and the Eretria Painter—also shared the peculiarity of using maenads and Nereids interchangeably. As these two artists worked almost a century apart, however, it is impossible to trace the evolution of these trends through the history of Attic vase painters and workshops. Both artists were certainly innovators (the Eretria Painter even used an Amazon with the name of a personification, on the bilingual *lekythos* in New York, VP 18), yet it is unclear to what degree their ‘personifications’ effected messages, political or otherwise. Not every vase painting with nymphs/maenads and silens/satyrs as personifications treats an explicitly Dionysiac theme. Yet maenads and maenadism are, by definition, Dionysiac, and do not depend on the presence of satyrs for a Dionysiac role or identity (*contra* McNally, 1978: 104-105). Through the use of maenads a Dionysiac element might also be combined with another theme, as in the case of the Eretria Painter's cup in Warsaw VP 20 (figs. 3.11-12), for which a political or choral reading is equally valid. The outside of this cup, as already noted, shows Dionysiac nymphs with the names of Greek islands—Delos, Euboia, and Lemnos—dancing with their mother, Tethys, and other nymphs/maenads (and silens/satyrs) with musical names. As Beazley notes, Delos is home of the dance, according to Pseudo-Aristophanes, *Neoi* (Beazley, 1928: 63). This might explain the presence of musically named females—Khoros (Dance) and Kinyra (the latter connoting the crooning sound of flute music)—with Delos and her family. Whether the females are to be understood as nymphs or maenads, and regardless of what message they convey, they are certainly personifications (Métzger, 1996: 267, 279).

It is clear that each personification might take on a group identity as yet another attribute that characterises her. Just as maenadism is a mask

that temporarily transports one, for example, into the uninhibited world of Dionysos (Smith, 2005a: 222 [art]; Schlesier, 1993: 92 [tragedy]), Nereids might be appropriate in seafaring or nuptial contexts. Clearly each character must be read in her particular context, usually the scene in which she plays a part (Osborne, 1997: 199). The specific context might alter the allegory (whether intended or perceived) but does not cancel out the inherent meaning of each entity. It rather adds another layer of meaning. The growing overlap between maenads and other female figures, throughout the Classical period, therefore, is another indication of the growing sophistication with which artists employed their personifications.

Why did Classical Athenian artists illustrate local personifications? The mythic and cult status of these personifications are largely irrelevant: none except Amymone and Aigina are shown as central characters in mythic scenes. Attic vases are generally devoid of geographic indicators. Whether in literature or art, after all, the only Greek myths that concern specific locales are those that exist for the sake of explaining or otherwise bringing attention to geographic phenomena. Aitiological myths, for example, explain why this or that god found a home in a particular place. One would want to explain that the Eleusinian mysteries took place at Eleusis, that Apollon and Artemis were born on Delos, or that Kadmos and Harmonia met/married at Thebes, because these mythic and religious entities are supposed to have been the reasons that these places became important to the Greeks. If one wanted to bring attention to the locus of an event to bolster the importance of the place—Melite, for example, on the departure of the heroes Aias and Menestheus—then a personification would do the trick. The attribute of a label might clarify or intensify the importance of the extra character to viewers, whether or not they were literate; perhaps artists made arbitrary decisions whether or not to label these accessory figures. Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell has now drawn attention to the great number

of accessory figures standing 'in the wings' of Archaic Attic vase paintings, from 565 to 490 (Stansbury-O'Donnell, 2006: 10). Such accessory figures are well attested in the Classical period, however, when they are named, sometimes as personifications, and often as nymphs, nereids, and/or maenads. They are not merely supporters (as were, e.g. Iolaos and Athena helping Herakles) but also witnesses or spectators, serving an 'almost choral function' as Ruth Michael Gais perceptively noted (Gais, 1978: 361).

The vast majority of labeled local personifications are found in scenes that cannot be definitely associated with known myths. Whether in mythic scenes (e.g. Thebe and perhaps Melite) or not (Eleusis, Okeanos, and his sons, Thebe and Salamis, Delos and her sister islands) the anthropomorphic representations of geographical entities suggest the breadth of Athenian political influence. The connection between local personifications, especially nymphs, and civic identity is likewise emphasised at this time in the works of Pindaros, and in fact throughout the Greek world on coins, where they serve as city emblems (Kurke, 1991: 163-194). The physical forms of these places and spaces that decorate Athenian vases, however, seem to bring non-Attic geography thoroughly into the realm of Athens: the rivers, streams, islands, and cities have shed their monstrous or sub-human forms and have taken on the clothing and appearance of respectable Athenian men and women.²

It is hardly coincidental that the politicising messages conveyed by some of these personifications intersect with the Kimonian naval propaganda discussed in chapter 2 (21-22), for both iconographic types were created by vase painters working in early Classical Athens. Artists actually effected similar messages through representations of personifications and other figures. Nike and Poseidon, on the Aigisthos Painter's vase in

² A similar point was made by Pauline Hanesworth with regard to Classical perceptions of Hades, in "The Shaping and Placing of the Hound of Hades," at a conference at Reading, *Where the Wild Things Are*, 5 September 2008.

New Haven (**fig. 2.4**), Okeanos and his sons on **VP 2 (figs. 3.4-5)**, and local personifications on vases, monumental paintings, and statuary, e.g. **VP 20 (fig. 3.11)**, **MP 1**, and **S 1**, all expressed Athenian maritime power. This expression of power is a political statement. There were clearly many ways in which the same general message could be expressed.

Several categories of symbolic characters, including humanised representations of geographical entities, foreshadowed the use of political personifications after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431). The decision, on the part of each artist, regarding which humanised form to give to a particular personification seems to have been affected more by the context of the

scene shown, or the vessel on which the scene appeared, than by strict adherence to the origins of the character itself. This results in the large overlap between categories: personifications of local and abstract entities (Galene, Melite, and Thaleia) appear interchangeably as maenads, Nereids, or nymphs. As the popularity of personifications grew after 431, the overlap between maenads and other human(ised) females also grew, and several personifications that embodied political entities appeared as maenads in Dionysiac contexts, or as more respectable women in other contexts. Each personification has her own character and meaning, although the company she keeps adds another level of complexity to both character and meaning.

CHAPTER FOUR

GODDESS BEFORE PERSONIFICATION? RIGHT AND RETRIBUTION

Themis and Nemesis are well known—together and individually—in the arts and cults of Archaic Greece (Stafford, 2000: 45-110). A single translation of each name into English does not accurately convey their broad ranges of influence, as evoked in art and literature. Like the noun *themis* (ἡ θέμις), the personification Themis represents that which is laid down or established, law according to custom, justice, right (LSJ⁹ s.v. θέμις; for the distinction between *themis* and *dike* see Rudhardt, 1999: 15-16). The plural, θέμιστες, denote the decrees of the gods, especially as issued by oracles, as well as customary laws, ordinances, judgments, etc. (Vos, 1956: 17; Rudhardt, 1999: 19-26). Others take Themis as the personification of “social order” (Stafford, 2000: 45). Nemesis also conveys a strong sense of righteousness (Knittlmayer, 1999: 4-5). Aristoteles as much as defines *nemesis* (ἡ νέμεσις) as “grieving at undeserved failures and successes and rejoicing at those that are deserved; for which reason they deem Nemesis a deity” (Aristoteles, *Ethika Nikomacheia* 1233b24-25; see Konstan, 2003: 75-76). So, she is Retribution, Righteous Anger (Homer, *Ilias* 3.156, 6.335, 13.122, 14.80 and *Odysseia* 2.136 and 22.30; Aiskhylos, *Epta epi Thebas* 235; Platon, *Nomoi* 717d), and Indignation (Aristoteles, *Ethika Nikomacheia* 1108a35). However one defines them, these personifications are explicitly political in nature. Whether or not they originated to serve political needs, both *nemesis* and *themis* were popularised and personified during the Peloponnesian War, in Athenian literature and art. Nemesis was worshipped at the Attic *deme* of Rhamnous from as early as the sixth century (Petrakos, 1999: 1.194-195)—the founding of the cult has been attributed to the Attic King Erekhtheus (Hesychios s.v. Ῥαμνουσία ἄκτάς; *Suda* s.v. Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις)—while

Themis joined her there perhaps as late as the fourth century.

Nemesis

Themis and Nemesis are interconnected in myth perhaps before they are joined in cult at Rhamnous. In the lost sixth-century epic, *Kypria*, according to Athenaios, Zeus prepares for the Trojan War, following the advice of his wife, Themis, and rapes his daughter Nemesis (*Kypria* fr. 7 [Allen, 1912]=Athenaios 8.334b). Nemesis transforms herself into various shapes to avoid this incestuous incident, but when she attains the form of a swan, she is impregnated by Zeus, as a goose (see also Apollodoros 3.10.7; Hyginus, *Poetica astronomica* 2.8; Pausanias 1.33.7; Sch. Kallimakhos, *Hymnoi* 3.232; Tzetzes, *Lykophron* 88). The result of this union of birds is of course an egg. This egg contains Helene, whose elopement with Paris will spark the Trojan War. In the *Kypria* it seems that the egg is hatched by Leda, not Nemesis. There are of course other genealogies and versions of Nemesis' story (summarised in Karanastassi, 1992: 733-770 s.v. Nemesis; Hornum, 1993: 91-152; Stafford, 2000: 75-110). Eratosthenes summarised the variant in Kratinos' (lost) comedy, *Nemesis*, produced in 431 (KA 4.179) or shortly thereafter:

It is said that Zeus made love to Nemesis in this shape (a swan) after she had tried every form in order to keep her virginity, and finally became a swan. Assuming the shape of the same bird himself, he [Zeus] arrived at Rhamnous in Attika and there raped Nemesis (who is called Leda) who laid an egg from which hatched Helene, as we are told by Kratinos. (Eratosthenes [*Katasterismoi*] 25)

This story is bewildering with regard to Nemesis' divine status: does she change her shape through magic or divine powers? If divine, why does she give birth to a mortal? And whether or not divine, is she conceived of as a personification? Malcolm Davies may be correct (Davies, 1989: 35-39) that that the shape changing motif was transferred from the tale in which Thetis tried to escape from her destined marriage to Peleus (Apollodoros 3.10.7; Euripides fr. 1093 N²; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.229; Pindaros, *Nemeonike* 4.62; Sch. Pindaros, *Nemeonike* 3.35, 4.62; Sophokles, *Troilos* fr. 618 Radt). Other than the shape changing, however, this Nemesis seems to be mortal. Despite her divine partner she gives birth to a human. Here she is perhaps the only personified abstraction to give birth to a mortal rather than a divine or semi-divine figure (Stafford, 2000: 72). Perhaps this interpretation has been influenced by the later tradition (Apollodoros 10.7) that conflates Nemesis with Helene rather than Leda and sees Nemesis as one of Leda's divine children (along with Polydeukes), fathered by Zeus on the same night that Tyndareos conceived Leda's mortal children, Klytaimnestra and Kastor. Regardless of Nemesis' divine status, however, in this story her character is, in part, represented by her name, and she therefore seems to be a personification: the *Kypria* specifies that Nemesis tries to avoid incest because of her feelings of *nemesis* as well as *aidos* (ἡ αἰδώς). Here *aidos* seems to connote a feeling akin to shame, whereas it later has a positive connotation, and is translated as reverence or modesty (LSJ⁹ s.v. αἰδώς; for Homeric *aidos* see Scott, 1980; Turpin, 1980; Redfield, 1975: 115-118; see also Williams, 2008). The aitiological aspect of this story would suggest that Nemesis was here personified for the first time (Shapiro, 1993: 173). Yet we cannot be sure that the explanation was intact in the *Kypria* rather than provided by Athenaios (in the 2nd century).

Nemesis was known as a divine being from as early as Hesiodos, although the evidence for her cults before the sixth century (at Rhamnous) is slight. Hesiodos sees her ambivalence. In an apocalyptic vision he describes her value (with Aidos): "... their beautiful forms wrapped in white

robes, will go to Olympos from earth, with its wide paths, and forsake mankind to join the tribe of immortals: and bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no defense against evil" (Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 196-200; Nemesis and Aidos are connected also in Homeros, *Ilias* 13.121). Elsewhere he calls her a "...bane for mortal men" (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 223). No source earlier than the *Kypria* connects Nemesis with Helene: perhaps the birth tale was written anew for the *Kypria* and/or the *Kypria* originated at Rhamnous (Stafford, 2000: 80-89). Stafford has now debunked the 'evidence' for a pre-Hellenistic cult of Nemesis at Smyrne (Stafford, 2000: 98-100 *contra* Schweitzer, 1931: 202, who dates it as early as the 7th century, and Cadoux, 1938: 220, who dates it before Alyattes' destruction of the city in 580). There is likewise no external evidence for the sculpture of personified Nemesis, which Pausanias tells us was made at Smyrne by Boupalos (550-525) (Pausanias 9.35.6); or the age of the wooden cult figures (*xoana*) of Nemesis at Smyrne (Pausanias 1.33.7; see Shapiro, 1993: 173, 256 no. 113, and Stafford, 2000: 98-99).

Nemesis appears first in Attic art at approximately the same time as Kratinos' play, noted above, when she received her long awaited temple at Rhamnous. As early as the 470s, following the Persian Wars, funds were allocated for the building of a temple to Nemesis at Rhamnous (Pausanias 1.33), but the extant Classical Doric temple was not built until the 430s or even the 420s, according to Margaret Miles (Miles, 1989). Ira Mark (1993: 77-78 n. 47) disputes Miles' stylistic dating, while Vasilios Petrakos, the excavator, prefers Dinsmoor's date of 436-432 (Dinsmoor, 1961: 179). This roughly matches the chronology of the cult statue of Nemesis, according to Pausanias:

It would seem that the wrath of this goddess [Nemesis] also fell upon those of the barbarians who landed at Marathon. For thinking that no obstacle stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing with them some Parian marble to use for a trophy, just as if the whole thing were over and done with. It was this stone that Pheidias made into a statue of Nemesis.
(Pausanias 1.33.3-4)

By the fifth century *nemesis* had come to mean (divine) retribution warranted by righteous indignation, such as the punishment that the Persians received at the hands of the Greeks at Marathon (Herodotos 1.34; Sophokles, *Elektra* 1467 and *Philoktetes* 518, 602). The creation of Nemesis' statue and temple in the 420s could have been instigated, therefore, by the resurgence of Athenian *nemesis* against enemies past and present at the outset of the Peloponnesian War (431-404). A likely explanation for the delay of both projects to approximately sixty years after the Battle of Marathon is the post-Persian War cessation of temple building on account of the Oath of Plataiai (Dinsmoor, 1961: 179; *re* sources on this Oath, see Fine 1983, 323-328).

The cult statue of Nemesis—which is well known through its extant head and Roman copies (S 2), on the basis of which Giorgos Despines has reconstructed the original fragments (fig. 4.1) (Despines, 1971)—is stylistically dated to this period, 430s-420s (Knittlmayer, 1999). Plinius provides an alternate attribution of the statue to Pheidias' pupil, Agorakritos:

Another disciple of his [Pheidias'] was Agorakritos of Paros, who was pleasing to him because of his youth and beauty; as a result, it is said that Pheidias allowed Agorakritos' name to be put on a number of his [Pheidias'] own works. In any case, the two disciples [Alkamenes and Agorakritos] competed with one another in the making of an Aphrodite, and Alkamenes was the victor, not because of the quality of his work but through the votes of the citizenry who favored one of their own people against a foreigner; whereupon, Agorakritos, according to tradition, sold his statue with the proviso that it should not remain in Athens and that it should be called 'Nemesis.' It was set up in Rhamnous, a *deme* of Attika, and is a work which Marcus Varro preferred to all other statues. There is also a work of Agorakritos in the same town in the shrine of the Great Mother. (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 36.17-18; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 67)

Plinius' attribution of Nemesis to Agorakritos is preferable on stylistic and chronological grounds, for Pheidias was at the end of his career in the 430s (for the attributions see Schefold, 1957: 548; for Alkamenes' Aphrodite, perhaps "Aphro-

dite in the Gardens," see Romeo, 1993). While Plinius explains the love affair between the two sculptors as a source of confusion (*Naturalis historia* 36.16-18, supported by Zenobios 5.82), his account also explains Agorakritos' personal *nemesis*, in specifying his condition that the statue be sent out of Athens—Rhamnous, while in Attika, seems to have been far enough—and that it be named Nemesis.

The statue aptly illustrates Nemesis' broad realm (S 2). Pausanias identifies and partly explains her attributes:

...on the head of the goddess is a crown on which are represented deer and some images of Victory which are not very big. In her left hand she holds the branch of an apple tree, and in her right hand she holds a *phiale*, on which Ethiopians are represented.... This statue does not have wings nor is there any other of the ancient statues of Nemesis represented with them, since not even the extremely holy ancient images which belong to the people of Smyrna have wings. But later artists, maintaining that the goddess makes her epiphany most of all after a love affair, represent Nemesis with wings just as they do Eros. I now go on to the images represented on the base....

(Pausanias 1.33.5-6; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 67-68)

None of the copies preserve the attributes or head ornaments (although the original of the head has many attachment holes, for which reason we must presume that the embellishments were crafted in metal and added). The deer on her headdress and the apple branch that she holds in her lowered left hand recall her role as a chthonic or nature divinity. As an Okeanid (see chapter 3, 27-29), Nemesis is a nature divinity; her chthonic aspect is evidenced by attestations of the *Nemeseia* (in her honour) as a festival for the dead (Sch. Demosthenes 41.11; *Suda* s.v. Νεμέσεια) and her possible relation to the Erinyes (Euripides fr. 1022 N²; Sophokles, *Elektra* 792); she is the avenger of the dead, according to Aiskhylos (fr. 266 N²) and Automedon (*Anthologia Palatina* 11.326). Brigitte Knittlmayer suggests that the apple connects Nemesis with Aphrodite (Knittlmayer, 1999: 8). The Nikai on her crown indicate the righteous victory that she will exact, as an avenging goddess.

The *phiale* (a ritual plate) in her outstretched left hand points to her righteousness, which perhaps connects her with Themis. And the Ethiopians on this *phiale* show her broad-reaching power: Greeks saw Ethiopians as the people from the ends of the earth (Ehrhardt 1997, 33-34; Fisher, 1992: 503 n. 47 [Nikai and Ethiopians]; Simon 1960, 17-18 [*phiale*]; Pinney 1983, 133 [Ethiopians]). Perhaps also relevant is the longstanding tradition of Ethiopians as a pious and righteous people (e.g. Homeros, *Ilias* 1.423-425; Hesiodos fr. 40A Merkelbach-West; and Herodotos 2.137, 2.139; see also Snowden, 1983: 47-58).

The cult statue's base, **R 1** (fig. 4.1) showed some part of the myth of Helene and thereby incorporates Nemesis' myth as well as her allusively political identity into her cult at Rhamnous. According to Pausanias:

The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, but that Leda suckled her and brought her up. As to Helen's father, the Greeks as well as everyone else think that it was Zeus and not Tyndareos. Having heard these stories Pheidias represented Helen as being brought before Nemesis by Leda; likewise he represented the children of Tyndareos and a man named Hippeus who stands by with a horse. Also there are Agamemnon, Menelaos, and Pyrrhos, the son of Achilles; it was he who first took Hermione, the daughter of Helen, as his wife. Orestes was left out on account of the daring act against his mother, yet Hermione remained by him through everything and even bore him a child. Next on the base is someone called Epochos and another youth. With regard to them, the only thing I heard was that they were brothers of Oinoe, from whom the name of the deme comes.

(Pausanias 1.33.7-8; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 68)

The figures that decorate the front and two sides of the base, now reconstructed from fragments by Petrakos (Petrakos, 1999: 1.251-270; Petrakos, 1986: 83-100),¹ have been variously identified, but there is no reason to doubt Pausanias' testimony that the central scene shows Leda bringing Helene to Nemesis (Pausanias 1.37.7). The occa-

sion was either at Helene's marriage to Menelaos (Schefold, 1981: 244) or the return from the Trojan War (Svoronos & Kjellberg, 1926: 111). Petrakos has identified up to fourteen figures on three sides of the base (3 plus a horse on each side and 8 on the front) (Petrakos, 1986: 93). This number is two more than Pausanias suggests. The figures are arranged symmetrically, with two pairs of female figures between two pairs of male figures on the front, while the side panels, with horses and more male figures (some of whom must be those mentioned in Pausanias' description) mirror each other. The four female figures are of greatest interest to us, with regard to personification. Following Pausanias, Petrakos suggested that they were Leda, who leads Helene to Nemesis and then Oinoe, a local personification. Petrakos, 1986 thinks Oinoe's presence is justified by that of her brothers, Epokhos and the unnamed youth (Petrakos, 1986, following Delivorrias, 1984a: 96; earlier he thought she might be Hermione: Petrakos, 1981). Ken Lapatin, who reversed the positions of Helene and Leda, identified the fourth female rather as Klytaimnestra (Shapiro Lapatin, 1992: 113), while Paulina Karanastassi has argued that she should be Themis, because of her close connection with Nemesis at Rhamnous (Karanastassi, 1994: 118-119). None of these suggestions are secure because this fourth figure is represented among extant fragments only by a small fragment of a veil.

The connection between Nemesis and Helene is similarly shown on the Heimarmene Painter's name vase, a pointed *amphoriskos* (oil flask) in Berlin, **VP 16** (fig. 4.2), dated to the 420s. Here several other personifications—Peitho (Persuasion), Heimarmene (Destiny), probably Themis (Shapiro, 1986a: 12), and perhaps Eukleia (Good Repute)—join mother and daughter just moments before Helene's abduction by Paris. Peitho consoles and persuades Helene, who is seated in Aphrodite's lap. Himeros (Longing) likewise persuades Paris, on the opposite side of the vase. The role of Nemesis here is allegorical (Shapiro, 1993: 194-195; Shapiro, 1986a: 11-14). She stands at the far left, with a figure whose label is badly preserved, and "points an accus-

¹ I thank Angeliki Kosmopoulou for sharing her observations of this relief with me.

ing finger” at Helene, Paris, and their persuaders (Shapiro, 2005: 51). Who is this accuser? Scholars have previously identified her as Tykhe (most recently Shapiro, 2005: 51), yet Tykhe is otherwise unparalleled in Attic vase painting (except for the spurious label on **VP 44**) and is slightly redundant in the presence of Heimarmene (on the right side of the vase). Eukleia, who is well known on contemporary Attic vases (see chapter 6) is a likely candidate, as her name (spelled [E]Y[KΛ]E[A] or [E]Y[KΛ]E[IA]) would fit the extant letters of the accompanying label. Shapiro (1993, 77) notes the significance of the *eukleia* of Helene, “...who by her recklessness was thought to have trampled most heavily this very virtue,” although he did not go so far as to identify Eukleia on this vase. Nemesis, as Helene’s mother, would have been especially concerned with her daughter’s *eukleia* on the eve of her abduction by Paris (when she lost this very virtue). If my interpretation is correct, Eukleia joins Nemesis in pointing to Helene’s Destiny, embodied in the figure of Heimarmene, whose appearance on this vase is unique in Attic visual arts and predates the first extant literary occurrence of the noun, ἡ εἰμαρμένη (itself derived from μέρομαι), in Platon’s *Gorgias* (512e; Vernière, 1980: 61-67).

The contemporary representation of Helene on these two Attic art works—the statue base (**R 1**, **fig. 4.1**) and the *amphoriskos*, **VP 16** (**fig. 4.2**)—and in Kratinos’ comic play, *Nemesis*, certainly would have brought Nemesis to the attention of the *demos* and given them much to contemplate. Helene’s own story alludes to a chain of death, destruction, and sorrow spanning at least three generations (Ehrhardt, 1997). Helene is the pivotal character of the entire Trojan War, which, in the fifth century, was a paradigm of victory over the Persians. As Angeliki Kosmopoulou aptly points out, the fifth-century literary sources are ambivalent about whether or not to blame Helene for the Trojan War (Kosmopoulou, 2002: 134-135). She shares in her ambivalence with Nemesis who, as a personification, alludes to even more than does her daughter. Kratinos’ *Nemesis* was, incidentally, read (and seemingly intended) on another level, as an attack on the statesman

Perikles: Ploutarkhos (*Perikles* 3.5) quotes a quip on Perikles’ bastard son from Eupolis, *Demes* (KA 5.110; see Ogden, 1996: 61; Podlecki, 1998: 115; Vickers assembles other ‘attacks’ on Perikles by Kratinos in Vickers, 1997: xv, 3, 193-195). By presenting Zeus in the guise of Perikles and perhaps Nemesis/Leda in the guise of Perikles’ lover, Aspasia (mother of his *nothos* or bastard son)—and thus echoing Euripides’ pairing of personified Nemesis with Zeus (Euripides, *Phoinissai* 182)—Kratinos somehow commented on the *nemesis* Perikles suffered for passing strict citizenship laws in 451 (*Athenaion Politeia* 26.4; Ploutarkhos, *Perikles* 37.2-5; on citizenship laws see Ogden, 1996: 59-62, and Osborne, 2010: 245-266). Ploutarkhos also echoes this pairing when he compares the statesman Perikles and his lover, Aspasia, to Zeus and Nemesis (*Perikles* 24.1). Perikles’ anxiety about the legitimisation of his (remaining) bastard son by Aspasia, however, would have only evolved during the plague (of 427), to which Perikles lost his legitimate children as well as himself. This would suggest, incidentally, that the accepted date of the play, 431 (fr. 179 KA), is too early. In either case, following on his knowledge of this play, at *Perikles* 3.5 (see also Ailianos, *Poikili historia* 6.10), Ploutarkhos represented the demotion of Perikles’ own son to the status of *nothos* from citizen as an act of *nemesis*.

Attic artists, in written and visual media, clearly used Nemesis’ good and bad qualities allusively in both public and private arenas. Nemesis avenged the politician Perikles’ private concerns publically, if Ploutarkhos is to be believed. She also avenged political and personal indignation in the various tales of her cult statue’s creator, as noted above. And Nemesis played her role in the Trojan War. Hesiodos’ view of Nemesis as beautiful, although potentially harmful, noted above, underlies her character in fifth century Athens, and explains why a statue at first intended to represent (according to Plinius, as noted above) the goddess of beauty—Aphrodite—could be conceived as appropriate as a cult statue of Nemesis. Another confusion might have been with the Shrine of Aphrodite Hegemone, which has now

been found now at the fort at Rhamnous (Mikalson, 1998: 177; *SEG* 41.90); the relationship of this cult to that of Aphrodite Hegemone at Athens, however, remains unclear. The confrontation with Nemesis' fundamental ambivalence and that of her daughter, Helene, in as powerful a place as the cult statue's base would certainly have given a strong warning to Nemesis' worshippers. It also resonates with the depiction of the birth of Pandora, a 'beautiful evil', on the base of the statue of Athena Parthenos (note recent scholarship on the positive aspects of Pandora²: Boardman, 2001b; Neils, 2005, 44; for the more customary negative view see Hurwit, 1995).

Themis

Themis (Law according to custom, justice, right) was considered a goddess as early as Homeros: Hera addresses her as *thea* (goddess) (Homeros, *Ilias* 15.92). Hesiodos says Themis was the second wife of Zeus, with whom she gave birth to the Moirai (Fates) and Horai (Seasons)—Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 901; Pindaros, *Olympionike* 13.7-9 repeats this genealogy; Themis and her Horai daughters appear perhaps once Classical Athenian art, as noted below, 49). Hesiodos elsewhere calls Themis a sister of the Titans, daughter of Ouranos and Ge (Heaven and Earth) (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 133-137; Aiskhylos, *Prometheus Desmotes* 209-210 also mentions her relation to Ge, while Eratosthenes [*Katasterismoi*] 13, explains that Rhea gave Zeus to Themis to rear, and that Themis in turn entrusted him to Amaltheia). According to Aiskhylos, she is a daughter of Zeus, rather than his wife or nurse (Aiskhylos, *Hiketides* 360; for Themis in myth see Rudhardt, 1999: 43-57). *Themis* is defined in epic as divine or natural law as well as the meeting (place) at which matters of law are discussed (Homeros, *Odysseia* 2.68-69). Homeros' goddess

Themis plays roles that are true to her name: she convenes assemblies of mortals or of the gods, at the bidding of Zeus (*Ilias* 20.4) or Hera (*Ilias* 15.95), as on a black-figure *dinos* signed by Sophilos (580-570) in London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (*Add²* 10-11; *Para* 19.16bis; BA 350099; Shapiro, 1993: 217 fig. 179, 218, 263 no. 141). This earliest labelled example of Themis shows her with sceptre in hand, perhaps to indicate her status as convener. She leads her daughters, the Nymphs, to the gathering of gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

Themis' earliest Classical appearance (in the 460s) is unprecedented in myth but recalls her Archaic connection with kingship and religion, as well as Ge, her mother Earth (on Archaic Themis see Vos, 1956, and Stafford, 1997 and 2000: 56-74: 158-167): she appears between Balos and Epaphos, Argive kings, on the back of Syriskos' calyx krater in Malibu, **VP 3 (fig. 3.2)**. While Themis carries libation instruments—a *phiale* and an *oinokhoe*—each king carries a sceptre, recalling the *skeptron* on which Akhilleus swears in the first book of *Ilias*, what "the sons of the Akhaians, those who guard the ordinances of Zeus, carry in their hands when they administer laws" (Homeros, *Ilias* 1.237-239). So perhaps Themis on Syriskos' krater indicates both the divine right of the kings to rule and the sacred laws that they carry to the people on her behalf. She seems to intend to pour a libation instead of, or for the kings, but this apparent inversion—the gods' performance of ritual—is not uncommon in early Classical art. It is explained by Kimberley Patton as 'divine reflexivity,' or self-reflexive, self-expressive action that signifies the origin of such rituals in the divine sphere (Patton, 2009: 57-100). On a more mundane, compositional level, however, Syriskos clearly intended Themis to mirror her mother, Ge Panteleia, who is seated and likewise holds a *phiale*, on the opposite side of this vase (**fig. 3.1**).

In cult as in myth Themis remained close to Ge and may have arisen as an epithet of Ge (Farnell, 1896-1909: 3.13; RE 2 5.2 (1934) 1626-1627; Reinhardt, 1966: 26). Her most famous, but elusive, religious affiliation is at Delphoi, where one

² I delivered a paper on this topic, "Through the Looking Glass: Pandora, Demeter, and the Origins of Culture," at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, Chicago, IL (28 December 1997).

might expect the connection between Themis and Ge to be particularly strong. Yet the sources are remarkably unclear on the origins of Themis' cult here, as elsewhere, and our knowledge of her pre-Apolline oracular role is based almost entirely on Attic literary sources. In the prologue to Aiskhylos' *Eumenides* (produced in 458), Pythia honours Ge and then Themis as the first and second occupants of the oracular seat at Delphoi. This is the earliest source for the tradition that Themis held the oracular seat at Delphoi before it was given to Apollon. Elektra, in Euripides' *Orestes* (163-165), also names Themis as the possessor of the Delphic tripod (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1987). No archaeological or epigraphic evidence substantiates the cult of either at Delphoi. A cultic connection between Ge and Themis is attested at Athens, however, albeit as late as the Roman period. Seats are reserved at the Theatre of Dionysos for an *olephoros* (bearer of the barley) of Athena Themis, a priestess of Ge Themis, and two *hersephoroi* (bearers of the "dew", secrets, or symbols) of Khloe Themis: IG II² 5103, 5130, and 5098, respectively. Stafford has now discounted a fourth seat inscription (IG II² 5109), once thought to have been reserved for a "priest of Themis" (Stafford, 2000: 62). The epithets on these inscriptions make it clear that Themis was intertwined with fertility divinities, with whom or adjacent to whom she may have been worshipped on the South slope of the Akropolis. Indeed, the inventory lists (of 250/49) from the nearby Asklepion, record two third century dedications from the priestess of Themis, namely a tetradrachm and eyes (IG II² 1534.252B; Aleshire 1989, V.127b-c). As Stafford suggests (2000: 46):

If Themis did indeed start life as an aspect of Ge, her gaining of autonomy could be understood as a reflection of a shift in emphasis, from an agrarian concern with fertility and natural justice to an increasingly urban concern with law and political order, alongside the rise of the archaic polis.

Themis' Athenian temple—which Pausanias saw near the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho and that of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Khloe (Pausanias 1.22.1-3)—remains to

be found, nor is it attested by extant inscriptions. Susan Walker (1979) has ingeniously suggested, however, that a small fourth-century building on the West end of the Asklepios terrace is that of Themis (see also Aleshire, 1989: 21-23).

The image of Themis in the visual arts of fifth-century Athens distances her from the bounty of the earth and strongly emphasises her role as the personification of religious order or custom. On VP 7, a *skyphos* in Tübingen (fig. 4.3), Themis holds a torch as well as a traditional *kanoun* (offering basket) while she greets Bendis, an imported Thracian divinity. Simon has plausibly explained that this scene shows Themis sanctioning the establishment of the new cult of Bendis at Athens (Simon, 1953: 26). In this welcoming sense, as Shapiro explains, Themis represents the Athenian 'Custom' with which Bendis will be revered with her attributes—torches and baskets—as are appropriate in all Athenian religious festivals (Shapiro, 1993: 225). Simon further explains that Themis is acting here as an assistant to Delphic Apollon, although a potential Delphic connection seems irrelevant. The Bendis-Themis connection is repeated on a matching pair of stemless cups attributed to the Phiale Painter: the tondo of one cup—Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro romano (ex. Alessandri Coll. 52) (ARV² 1023.147, 1678; BA 214329)—clearly shows Bendis, while the tondo of a nearly identical cup, VP 8 (fig. 4.4) shows a woman whose appearance recalls Themis on the Tübingen *skyphos*, VP 7 (fig. 4.3).

Delphic and Rhamnousian elements are incorporated into Themis' iconography at Athens. She is shown as a Pythian priestess (labeled ΘΕΜΙΣ), with whom Aigeus consults, on the tondo of the Kodros Painter's cup in Berlin, VP 12 (fig. 4.5). Again Themis' *phiale* shows her religious nature, but what of the short laurel or apple branch that she holds? The laurel branch, a symbol of Apollon, would be appropriate to Delphoi. The apple branch and *phiale* are attributes of Rhamnousian Nemesis. This is perhaps an intentional reflection of Themis' association with Nemesis at the Attic cult centre of Rhamnous. But she is veiled, as befits a priestess. In giving Themis this veil

and posture—seated on the Delphic tripod—the artist merged her with the Pythian priestess. In so doing he asks “who really speaks for the Delphic oracle?” The priestess of course made the speech, but the oracle emerged from the essential spirit at the Sanctuary, whether Apollon, Ge, or Themis herself. Themis sits on the *omphalos*, which recalls her Delphic ‘origins’, in the scene on a mid-fourth century Kerch *pelike* in St. Petersburg, **VP 71** (**fig. 4.6**), attributed to the Eleusinian Painter, who Valavanis now identifies with the Marsyas Painter (Valavanis, 1991: 86). The gods—Themis and Zeus, in the presence of Aphrodite, Peitho (?), and others—are here planning the Trojan War (Pindaros, *Olympionike* 8.21; *Hymnos Homerikos eis Hypaton Kronidin* 23.2-3; see Vos, 1956: 53-56). According to Proklos’ summary of the lost epic, *Kypria*, it was Themis who first suggested to Zeus that he incite the Trojan War, both to punish the corruption of mortals and to reduce the earth’s population (Proklos, *Khrestomathia* 1). A more explicit depiction of Themis’ role in the Trojan War is found on a calyx krater, attributed to the Kadmos Painter (420-410), also in St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum Ю.0.28 (St. 1807) (ARV² 1185.7; *Add*² 341; *Para* 460; BA 215695). Here the Themis episode is superimposed on the judgment of Paris, also known from the *Kypria* (Shapiro, 1993: 224). Line 12 of Simonides’ “Plataiai Poem” (POxy 3965, fr. 1) similarly conflates justice (δίκη rather than θέμις) with (the judgment of) Paris (Rutherford, 1996: 179). In the upper frieze, Themis is in a *tête-à-tête* with Eris (Strife): both have just alighted from chariots. Meanwhile the fateful contest—the Trojan shepherd/prince Paris (Alexandros) judging which of the three goddesses, Aphrodite, Athena, or Hera, is most beautiful—unfolds below. Eris normally presides alone over the choice of Paris on Archaic as well as Classical Attic representations, as on the Karlsruhe Paris, a *hydria* (name vase) of the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, c. 410-400, in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259 (ARV² 1315.1, 1690; BA 220515).

Can we identify Themis when she isn’t labelled? Her actions and companions are the most obvious

hints. A figure remarkably similar to Themis on the Kadmos Painter’s calyx krater, noted above, stands at the far left on a St. Petersburg *hydria* in the manner of the Kadmos Painter, T 1859.2 (see 32, above). This figure seems to advise Athena at the Theban meeting of Kadmos and Harmonia. While Themis would suit this role of advisor, her interference in this episode is elsewhere unattested. Evelyn Harrison has brought attention to the distinctive ‘shoulder-cord’ with which Themis’ sleeves are tied in most Attic representations, **VP 7, 8, 12, and 71** (**figs. 4.3-6**) (Harrison, 1977b). The shoulder cord secures otherwise fluttering or windblown drapery and is therefore used by charioteers, among others. Indeed Themis is the Olympian charioteer in the *gigantomakhia* on the North Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphoi, 530-525, where she is identified by inscription. Lions draw her chariot here, for which reason she was previously assumed to be Kybele (Brinkmann, 1985: N 17, figs. 65-66). Yet Zeus’ relationship to this ‘chariot of justice’ has Indo-European precedents (Rutherford, 1996: ns. 41-42). The bound garment is also appropriate to Themis as a passenger on Zeus’ chariot, shown on the Kadmos Painter’s calyx krater. Simon suggests, furthermore, that the shoulder cord symbolises “...the control exercised on human life by law, order, and custom” (Simon, 1975: 110-111). Following this iconographic clue, Themis might be the identity of an unlabeled figure in conversation with Heimarmene, on the far right of the Heimarmene Painter’s Berlin *amphoriskos*, **VP 16** (**fig. 4.2**). Here Themis would be acting as advisor, perhaps to indicate that the abduction and subsequent tragedies occurred because Heimarmene (Destiny) had temporarily distracted Themis.

Yet the shoulder cord is not secure enough to allow a definitive identification of Themis. For the purposes of restraining garments, it is as useful for Eris (Strife), who wears the same shoulder straps on the Karlsruhe Paris. Shoulder straps also become generic female attire among artists such as the Meidias Painter, working in the “style fleuri” (Nicole: 1908); seven of the nine unlabeled personifications elucidated by Jenifer Neils on the

Meidian *lekythos* in Cleveland, VP 29 (fig. 8.1) are dressed in this manner (Neils, 1983: 281).

Scholars have tried to find Themis among the sculptural decorations of the Akropolis. Harrison's suggestion that she is on the Parthenon's east pediment (432-428)—specifically figure L, in whose lap Aphrodite reclines (generally identified as Dione, the mother of Aphrodite)—is based on the shoulder cord argument mentioned above (Harrison, 1997b: 159). Simon thought Themis might be the female goddess seated on a rock, on Parthenon North metope 32 (442-438), where her form and placement reflect those of Zeus on the adjacent metope, N 31 (Simon, 1975: 110-111). The condition of this sculpture is so bad that no figures can be identified with certainty. Florens Felten located her on the equally unrecognisable Erekhtheion frieze, c. 420 (Felten, 1984: 110-117) and finally Carl Blümel placed her on the East frieze (block c) of the Temple of Athena Nike, after 415 (Blümel, 1950-1951: 137, fig. 2, 150-153; Karanastassi, 1997: 1203 s.v. Themis no. 28). Tempting as it is to find Themis literally covering the Periklean Akropolis, none of these identifications pass beyond conjecture. Neither does the shoulder cord nor other 'evidence' justify Harrison's speculation that two torsos dating from the second quarter of the fourth century—in New York (MMA 03.12.17) and Athens (S 10)—represent Themis (Harrison, 1977b: 157, *contra* Palagia, 1994: 118-119).

From epic to Athens

In the epic tradition Nemesis and Themis play important roles in bringing about that which is right, as it is sanctioned by the gods. This is a role that the Athenians, as all Greeks, revered and feared, while they recognised it as necessary or beneficial to the proper course of civilisation. The *phiale* that both goddesses carry signifies this sense of righteousness, particularly in the religious sphere. As with other personifications of virtues depicted during the Peloponnesian War—such as Peitho (Persuasion), Eunomia (Good Order), and Eirene (Peace)—their names are explicitly political. Nemesis and Themis tended to appear

in mythic scenes that were indirectly or allusively political; for example, the abduction of Helene refers to the fall of Troia and thus alludes to the defeat of the Persians.

While Nemesis' cult at Rhamnous continued through to the Roman period, perhaps also at Athens (three Roman altars inscribed with the name of Nemesis have been found in Athens' Kerameikos: IG II² 4747, 4817a + Agora I 4790, and IG II² 4845; Stafford, 2000: 93-94), she is virtually unknown in Attic visual sources after the fifth century. A votive relief from Rhamnous, dated to the 330s—London, BM 1953.5-30.2 + Rhamnous 530—depicts a team of torch racers approaching (to worship) three goddesses. A torch race was indeed part of the 'Great Nemeseia' (Parker, 1996: 246, 254) as attested by a later source (Athens, NM 313 [IG II² 3104; SEG 31.162], a round base of an ephebic herm inscribed in the arkhonship of Nikokrates, in 333/2; and an inscription proposing the worship of Antigonos Gonatas by the Rhamnousians in 255 [SEG 41.75; Petrakos, 1989]). The three goddesses on the votive relief noted above are taken to be Nike (winged, at the right: Moustaka *et al.*, 1992: 870 s.v. Nike no. 232), Nemesis, and Themis (Palagia & Lewis, 1989, take the central figure to be Nemesis, while Karanastassi prefers to identify her as Themis, on the basis of her sceptre: Karanastassi, 1992: 754-755 s.v. Nemesis no. 215; see also Palagia, 1994, 122 n. 52). The latter two figures are identified on the basis of the findspot, but neither fits with the typology of the figures of these personifications known from Attic arts (Despines, 1971 [Nemesis]; Palagia 1994 [Themis]). If these figures are meant to represent Nemesis and Themis, then both goddesses have lost their attributes and therefore the force of meaning that substantiates them as personifications. They have rather adopted the generic appearances of goddesses. This result strangely accords with Konstan's recent analysis of *nemesis* as a word that overlaps in the classical period with *phthonos*, meaning envy in a more modern sense (Konstan, 2001: 82; *re phthonos* see Most, 2003). While *phthonos* continued to be used of human emotions, after the Classical period, *nemesis* lost its relevance to humans and evolved into divine censure.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INDEPENDENCE OF EPITHETS: KHARITES, VIRTUES, & OTHER NYMPHS IN THE 'GARDENS OF APHRODITE'

One of the most obvious and important functions of the Meidian personifications is to look decorative. But if this were their sole purpose, there would be no need to distinguish them as personifications—beautiful anonymous women would have sufficed. It seems that a rather more significant function of the personifications is explanatory. They constitute an effective shorthand for conveying ideas which the painters would otherwise have found difficult, if not impossible, to express.

Lucilla Burn (1987: 35)

Virtues surround Aphrodite—the goddess of *mixis* (ἡ μίξις) or mingling, not restricted to sex, love, and marriage (Pironti, 2010: 118)—in Attic images painted during the Peloponnesian War (e.g. **fig. 1.1**). Such virtues as Eudaimonia (Prosperity, Happiness), Eutykhia (Prosperity, Good Luck), Harmonia (Harmony), Hygieia (Health), Paidia (Play), and of course Peitho (Persuasion) could represent personal virtues as well as public virtues, and might therefore be interpreted on either level, or both simultaneously, when they appear in art that functioned in public and private contexts (Smith, 2005b). These Meidian personifications—so-called because they were painted predominantly by the vase painter known as the Meidias Painter (Rosenzweig, 2004: 21-25, and Borg, 2005)—have too long been taken as superficial and meaningless except by those who see some of them as serious representations of divine beings (compare Strocka, 1975, and Hampe, 1955). The superficial interpretation is encouraged by the fact that the figures are beautiful, delicate, and playful. They seem to be lounging in idyllic gardens; and the vases themselves are embellished with white and gold details. Borg is right to seek a middle ground and I agree with her that “their meanings are much more

sophisticated than the first group of scholars will allow” (Borg, 2005: 195). In her reading of these vase paintings as “allegorical comments on... the pleasures and limits of the *aphrodisia*,” however, Borg concentrates on the private aspect of these virtues that ignores their civic relevance (Borg, 2005: 198). The Classical Greeks “...did not conceive of happiness as something individuals experience in various and sundry ways, or on their own terms, and however they wished” (Balot, 2006: 13). In the context of public or semi-public festivals, especially weddings—which are public acknowledgments of private changes in the lives of individuals within the *polis*—these images of civic / personal virtues would have been observed and appreciated by a large audience. I will discuss the use of vessels decorated with personifications in the context of weddings at the end of this chapter, after consideration of each of the personifications depicted, both together and individually. I exclude Eros from detailed consideration because I do not construe his presence or the entity that he personifies—Love—as either civic or political (for Eros’ role on nuptial vases, however, see Dipla, 2006, and Sutton, 1997-1998).

Civic virtues in the Classical Athenian *polis*

The virtues, whether or not they achieved cult status individually, warrant discussion together through their inclusion in the circle of Aphrodite. The worship of the civic goddess, Aphrodite, was highly integrated into Athenian society. “The common theme in her worship was unification: between brides and grooms, between prostitutes and customers, and between the Attic *demes*, or townships” (Rosenzweig, 2004: 4). Since the *polis*

relied on the presence of virtues and graces for it to function properly, Aphrodite's virtues and graces necessitated her worship and not *vice versa*. Thanks to their affiliation with various (other) cults, however, Peitho and Hygieia are far more abundant in Athenian art than their Meidian companions. Cult personifications were also introduced through their association with Olympians, either as epithets (like Athena Hygieia) or as subsidiary cult figures (like Peitho). Perhaps this resulted from the fact that the Athenian populace of the late fifth century retained its old-fashioned preference for the traditional divinities (Powell, 1979: 15). Whether through cult or art, however, the personifications certainly became familiar to many Athenians. Some intellectuals, such as Euripides and Thoukydides the historian, however, tended towards atheism (Lefkowitz, 1989: 70-82; Marinatos, 1981).

While the fourth century philosopher Aristoteles should not be taken to represent the viewpoints of the average Classical Athenian, his works help us to understand the relevance of civic virtues in the *polis*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of "political" in my introduction corresponds to Aristoteles' 'inclusive' sense of *polis* as discussed by Andres Rosler (2005: 175):

The second feature attributed to the *polis* by Aristotle, its all-embracing nature, gives the idea that it is a community of communities, i.e. it includes all associations whose ends are subordinate to the common good. The second feature refers to the *polis* not as a special type of institution but as the whole which pursues the highest end(s) and hence encompasses the sense of *polis* not only as a state or political community properly speaking but as all other institutions, associations, etc.

Throughout the *Politika*, Aristoteles argues for the central place of virtue in the effectiveness of the *polis* and for the importance of all civic associations originating with *oikoi* (roughly and variably translated as estates, households, or families). He argues at the end of *Politika* Book 1 (1260b13-18) that the *oikos* includes women and children:

Since each *oikos* is part of the *polis*, and these relationships are part of the *oikos*, and the *arete* [goodness] of the part must recognise that of the

whole, it is necessary then to educate both the children and the women with regard to the constitution if it matters with regard to the seriousness of the *polis* if the women and children are serious.

Elsewhere (1280b33-39) he highlights the importance of women and children to the *oikos* by pointing out that *oikoi* are joined together in the *polis* through marriage:

...partnerships of both *oikoi* and clans in living well for the purpose of full and autonomous life; this will not come about unless they live in one and the same place and intermarry. This is the reason why relations by marriage have developed throughout the states, and brotherhoods and unions for the purpose of religious rites and social events. And this is the result of *philia*, because *philia* is the motor of social life.

Philia (ἡ φιλία), 'friendship', is one of several civic virtues that comes to the fore in Aristoteles' writings. While his 'virtue' is predominantly *arete* (ἡ ἀρετή), also translated as 'goodness' or 'excellence', he uses it in a sense equivalent to that of Archaic *kharis* (ἡ χάρις), 'grace' or 'favour' (MacLachlan, 1993). *Philia* and *arete*, along with *alatheia* (Truth or Trustworthiness, the origin of *arete*, according to Pindaros fr. 205; see Cole, 1983: 7-28), are virtues that Sophists and others discussed since before the 5th century. The 5th-century philosopher, Protagoras, for example, famously talked about sharing a set of virtues in the community (Aristoteles, *Politika* 1280b33-39). Yet the sources for these early philosophers are fragmentary, unreliable, and/or late, so I cannot put much weight on them. Suffice it to say that Aristoteles shared with some contemporaries and perhaps predecessors the view that a successful *polis* was reliant on the distribution of grace and virtues such as *philia*, a sort of civic friendship, among *oikoi*. *Philia*, *kharis*, and *arete* resulted from and resulted in marriage. It is fair to suppose that other such civic virtues would have been distributed through marriage, taught to children, and utilised by political aspirants. Among them was *harmonia* (concord), set down by Zeus to ensure that councils of men would not transgress (Aiskhylos, *Prometheus Desmotes*

550-551). Later in the fifth century Euripides implies that *harmonia* gave birth to the Muses in Athens, whose offspring were nourished by *sophia* (wisdom) (Euripides, *Medea* 830-832; for the Muses as personifications see Murray, 2005). Thukydides also notes this in Perikles' funeral oration (2.40.1). The images painted on fifth-century Athenian vases foreshadow this Aristotelian enthusiasm for the importance of the *oikos* in politics but have been misunderstood by most iconographers as the (exclusive) realm of women (*contra* Lewis, 2003: 187). I concentrate here on those images that include personifications as specific evocations of the civic virtues that sustained the Classical Athenian *oikoi*, *demes*, and *polis*.

Hygieia and a healthy city

Hygieia (Health) is found in the cults of three major deities at Athens: Athena (as an epithet), Asklepios (as a companion), and Aphrodite (also as a companion). Hygieia was worshipped at nearby Megara, where she was joined in cult with Asklepios (Pausanias 1.40.6; Schachter, 1986: 60-61). At Oropos she shared an altar with Amphiaraios and other deities (Pausanias 1.34.3; *IG* VII 4255) and an altar with Asklepios (*IG* VII 311, 372, 412).

Hygieia's role as an epithet to Athena is particular to 5th-century Athens. Indeed, Pausanias' mention of an altar to Athena Hygieia at Akhar-nai (Pausanias 1.31.6) is the only reference to Athena Hygieia outside the Akropolis, although Shapiro has revived the idea that an inscription, *HYTIEIAS*, on the terrace wall of the temenos of Athena Pronoia (on the Marmaria) at Delphi might refer to the cult of (Athena) Hygieia (Shapiro, 1993: 126, n. 265, following Frickenhaus, 1910). Several dedications attest Athena Hygieia's worship on the Akropolis in the fifth century. The fragmentary inscription on a marble base from the 470s (*IG* I³ 824, B 4; Raubitschek 1949, no. 255) has been traditionally taken as a votive dedication by Euphronios (Maxmin, 1974: 178-180). It is more likely a prayer for health to

Apollon Paian, however, rather than a prayer or dedication to Athena Hygieia, so it must be discounted as evidence of cult (Stafford, 2000: 151; see also Keesling, 2005: 68). A more reliable source is the red figure fragment, from the 450s, dedicated by the potter Kallis, Athens, Akr. 1367 (Graef & Langlotz, 1925: pl. 19). It seems to depict the goddess Athena and reads "Kallis made and dedicated this to Athena Hygieia." A semicircular marble base of a statue of Athena Hygieia, dating to the later fifth century—Athens, AM 13259 (*IG* I³ 506)—provides the most convincing evidence of Athena Hygieia's worship on the Akropolis (Travlos, 1971: fig. 170). The base, which abutted the Propylaia, faced an altar, perhaps that of Athena Hygieia herself, adjacent to the shrine of Artemis Brauronia (Raubitschek, 1949: 185-188, 523; Travlos, 1971: 124). It is inscribed with a dedication to Athena Hygieia, on behalf of the Athenians, and the signature of the sculptor Pyrrhos. Perhaps this base, with imprints of a bronze statue, held the statue of Athena Hygieia set up by Perikles, according to Ploutarkhos. He reports that Athena came to Perikles in a dream and instructed him how to heal a man who had been injured while working on the Propylaia, completed in 432 (Ploutarkhos, *Perikles* 13; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 23.43 repeats the story with slight variation). Plinius indeed records that Pyrrhos made statues of both *Salus* (Health) and Minerva (Athena), in the precise area where the round base was found (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 34.80). Catherine Keesling suggests further that it predates the introduction of the cult of Asklepios (and personified Hygieia) in 420/19 (Keesling, 2005: 65-70). Pausanias witnessed manifestations of two of Hygieia's cults in the same location, between the Propylaia and the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. He saw here a statue of Athena Hygieia and a separate one of Hygieia, the daughter of Asklepios (Pausanias 1.23.4). The two statues probably came from different periods. There is scant reference to Athena Hygieia after 420 (Parker, 2003: 181), however, and it is hard to imagine Athena Hygieia as sharing her identity with Asklepios' Hygieia, whose worship expands considerably after this time.

An independent Hygieia, known from the earlier Archaic period in the Peloponnesos, came to Athens in 420/19 (Stafford, 2005b; Sobel, 1990). Pausanias noted statues of Hygieia and Asklepios at Olympia among the Mikythos dedications, c. 460, on the South side of the Temple of Zeus (5.26.2), and in a sanctuary of Asklepios at Titane (2.11.6). Telemakhos of Akharnai brought this Hygieia to Athens, along with the Epidauran cult of Asklepios, in 420/19 (Parker, 1996: 175-185; Garland, 1992: 116-135). He recorded the story of the introduction of this cult on a double-sided relief-decorated stele, Athens, EM 8821 (*IG* II² 4960a-b and 4961, fr. A.1-20; Clinton, 1994). The relief—comprising Athens, NM 2477 and 2491, London, BM 1920.6-161, and fragments in the National Museum, Athens (Iliakis, 1992-1998; Ridgway, 1983: 198-199; Beschi, 1982)¹—seems to show Hygieia, Asklepios, perhaps Telemakhos, and a dog. It suggests that Hygieia and Asklepios were worshipped together on the South Slope of the Akropolis from this time. The quality that Hygieia personifies, Health, is certainly relevant to Asklepios, but when she is worshipped and represented with him, this goddess does not bear any particular political connotations, for which reason I have excluded from my catalogue representations of Hygieia alone or with Asklepios.

Another (or the same?) Hygieia was certainly revered as a goddess in her own right, by c. 400, when Ariphron wrote his *Hymnos eis Hygeian* (quoted in Athenaios 15.702 and inscribed on stelai: Wagman, 1995: 159-178; Bremmer, 1981: 210-211):

Hygieia, most revered of the blessed gods, may I
live with you
for the rest of my life, and may you be a willing
inhabitant of my house.
for if there is any joy in wealth or in children,
or in royal power which makes men equal to
divinities,
or in the desires which we hunt with Aphrodite's
hidden nets,
or if any other delight or rest from labours

has been revealed to mortals by the gods,
it is with your help, blessed Hygieia,
that all things flourish and shine to the discourse
of the Kharites.

Without you no one is prosperous (εὐδαίμων).

This hymn puts Hygieia—who may have already acquired the responsibility of civic health from Athena (according to Platon: Balot, 2006: 194-197)—clearly in the realm of Aphrodite and the Kharites. This is the Hygieia who mingles with other personifications of civic virtues on Attic vases in the last two decades of the fifth century. Images on these vases are actually the only instances in which she is pictured apart from Asklepios. Hygieia is found on the name vase of the Meidias Painter, **VP 26 (fig. 1.1)**, as well as the masterpieces in Florence that have been attributed to his hand, **VP 24-25 (figs. 5.1-2)**. All three are roughly dated to the second decade of the Peloponnesian War (420-410) when health was a lingering problem, after the plague of the early 420s, and with rising numbers of war injuries and deaths (Hornblower, 1983: 172). Shapiro sees Hygieia's prominence on **VP 26 (fig. 1.1)**—a patriotic piece that also depicts the Athenian tribal heroes—as contemporary with the introduction of Hygieia's cult to Athens (Shapiro, 1993: 128). Hygieia's presence on **VP 25 (fig. 5.2)**, where she is closely associated with Eudaimonia (Happiness), advertises the general benefits of health. On this and other Meidian vases that may have been used for weddings—**VP 37 (fig. 5.10)**, **VP 44**, and **VP 48-49 (fig. 5.11)**—the generalised beneficence of Hygieia, in the company of Eudaimonia (Prosperity, Happiness), appropriately expresses best wishes for a happy, healthy marriage. When Hygieia supports Paid(e)ia (Childrearing or Play) in her lap, on **VP 24 (fig. 5.1)**, she may advertise the importance of health in bringing up children. (For the different meanings of *paideia* and *paidia* and their possible conflation in Attic imagery, see the discussion below, 65.) Paidia (Play) also appears with Hygieia on **VP 48-49 (fig. 5.11)**, and **52 (fig. 5.3)**.² The latter, a large early fourth

¹ Fragments of copies of this relief are in Athens (NM 2490); Padua, Museo Civico (Asklepios); and Verona, Museo Maffaiiano.

² In my first-hand study of this vase I could not identify the label on Hygieia, who is strangely winged in this

century *pelike*, has been traditionally taken to have commemorated a dramatic contest (the *Thargelia*, as proposed by Frickenhaus, 1908). Eric Csapo has now suggested that the diverse range of personifications and gods point rather to a generic celebration, probably choral: "it pulls out all the stops to present an image of Dionysian choral vistory in the abstract" (Csapo, 2010: 118). Perhaps Hygieia and Paidia were included to advertise the healthy fun that could be enjoyed at theatrical festivals.

Peitho in the *polis*

Peitho (Persuasion) is Aphrodite's daughter according to many ancient sources (Aiskhylos, *Hiketides* 1039; Pindaros fr. 122.2-5 Snell-Mähler; and Sappho frs. 1, 200 LP), which in part explains her worship with Aphrodite, and her involvement in Aphrodite's sphere of influence (Ibykos fr. 288 Davies, *PMGF* [= Athenaios 13.5640]. According to other sources she is a daughter of Okeanos and Tethys and sister of Metis and Tykhe (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 349); or a daughter of Promatheia and sister of Eunomia (Alkmanos fr. 64 Davies, *PMGF*). She is connected with Tykhe in Aiskhylos, *Hiketides* 523, and is a daughter of Ate (Folly) in Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon* 386. According to Argive tradition, Peitho was married to Phoroneus, the first man in Argolis (Euripides, *Orestes* 932; Pausanias 2.15.5; Sch. Euripides, *Orestes* 1239, 1246; and Sch. Euripides, *Phoinissai* 115, 1123; Sch. Euripides, *Phoinissai* 1116 provides the alternate tradition that she was married to Argos). Regardless of these genealogies, she is a constant companion and aide to Aphrodite, starting with her assistance at the birth of Pandora (Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemera* 73-75). Unlike most personifications, Peitho appeared as a goddess before the noun *peitho* (ἡ πειθῶ), was used in Greek literature (Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemera* 73 and *Theogonia* 349). Through-

out the Greek world, she is worshipped independently (Rosenzweig, 2004: 13-28); with Artemis (at Argos: Pausanias 2.21.1) and Aphrodite (at Megara: Pausanias 1.43.6); and as an epithet to Aphrodite (*IG* XII 2.73, an altar at Mytilene on Lesbos; *SEG* 12.42, a dedication near Knidos; and *IG* IX 2.236, records "a torch for Aphrodite Peitho"). At Athens, however, Peitho's name was never joined as an epithet to that of Aphrodite, although she was an attendant to Aphrodite, in cult and in art, from perhaps the second half of the sixth century (Dally, 1997; Rosenzweig, 2004: 82-91). Her role as an independent entity in relation to the cult of Aphrodite *en Kepois* (Aphrodite in the Gardens), located at Daphni, is attested by a dedication to Peitho alone, in a votive inscription, *IG* II² 4583 (*SEG* 41.1848). Peitho's deeper connection with Aphrodite Pandemos (Aphrodite of all the People) on the Akropolis is attested by a variety of sources outlined below (see now also Pala, 2010). Following Platon's contrast of Ἔρως πάνδημος versus Ἔρως οὐράνιος, in Xenophon, *Symposion* 8.9 and Platon, *Symposion* 180d-81b, as common versus spiritual love, scholars have perhaps wrongly taken Aphrodite Pandemos to refer to her vulgar associations (Knigge, 1982, and Pala, 2010: 196-198; *contra* Rosenzweig, 2004: 13-28, 72 and especially 129 n. 77; see also Pirenne-Delforge, 1994: 26-40).

After his *synoikismos*, or unification of Athens, Theseus is said to have set up a cult of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho on the South(west) slope of the Athenian Akropolis (Pausanias 1.22.3; see also Thukydides 2.15.1-2). Perhaps Kleisthenes and his contemporaries, rather than Theseus, should be credited with this *synoikismos* as with founding the cult. The archaeological and literary sources for *synoikismos* are somewhat contradictory (Mersch, 1996: 83). Homeros' *Neon katalogos* (*Catalogue of Ships*) provides a *terminus ante quem* for Theseus' unification of Athens (*Ilias* 2.546-556) and the Parian Marble (A20) provides a more specific date of 1259. A small sanctuary has indeed been found, roughly where Pausanias locates it, on a terrace beneath the Nike bastion. Inscribed architrave blocks (*IG* II² 4596), decorated with doves in relief, seem to belong to a

instance. Whereas I doubt the Hygieia dipinto seen by other scholars would have labelled this winged figure, it is still possible that it would have labelled another figure that is lost to us (given the state of preservation of the vase).

fourth century building associated with Aphrodite, although no evidence there dates back as far as the sixth century, let alone the mythical time of Theseus (Beschi, 1967-1968). Nor does physical evidence attest Peitho's presence at this sanctuary. Yet Giorgos Dontas has plausibly identified a fragment of Aphrodite from the cult statue to which Pausanias alludes (Pausanias 1.22.3): Athens, NM Γ.177 (Dontas, 1989: pls. 27.1, 3, 28.1-2; Rosenzweig, 2004: 15, fig. 4). This (Parian?) marble fragment was found in the excavations of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, in 1857. It preserves waves of hair from just above the forehead and left eye, a broken nose, worn lips, and oxidised remains of bronze eyelashes. On the basis of its stylistic similarities to the so-called 'Lykeios Apollon' and bronze Artemis from the Peiraieus, Dontas has suggested that this work may have been sculpted by Euphranor (*floruit* 360-340). Cuttings on the back of this fragment suggest that it belonged to an akrolithic statue: a wooden statue with stone head and appendages. As it was colossal as well as akrolithic, it is rightly taken as part of a cult statue (Romano, 1980: 272). That it was a companion to another statue is suggested by the turning of the head to the left. The size of the fragment in relation to the small space attested, would suggest that it belonged to the head of the seated Aphrodite rather than the (presumably) standing Peitho. The Nike bastion of the Akropolis, overlooking this shrine of Aphrodite and Peitho, is home to perhaps the only extant (although uncertain) image of Peitho in fifth century sculpture. Carl Blümel identified Peitho as the first figure on the left side of the East frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, finished in the 420s (Blümel, 1950-1951: 135-165). Here, at a council of the gods, Peitho seems to stand, appropriately, between Eros (her mythical brother) and Aphrodite.

Literary sources suggest political motivations for the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos on the Southwest slope of the Akropolis in the sixth century or earlier. Pausanias' foundation story connects Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho to Theseus—the mythical and thus undatable king of Athens—to emphasise the role of these

goddesses in civic cooperation and the democratic spirit on which their *polis* was supposed to have been founded. Nikandros of Kolophon (in Athenaios 13.569d) claimed that the statesman Solon, slightly before his time, had set up the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos, but makes no mention of Peitho. Some have thought that the sixth-century statesman Kleisthenes, whose tribal organisations recalled Theseus *synoikismos*, or bringing together of the *demes* of Athens, may have exploited this cult and/or invented its foundation story (Anderson, 2003: 134-146). To this end Simon has noted an issue of fractional silver coins (*triobols*) that perhaps showed Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho as Janus-headed goddesses (Simon, 1970: 12-13, pls. 2.4). Whereas this minting may have coincided with Kleisthenes' reforms (508/7), it considerably postdates his arkhonship (525/4) when he might have had authority to mint coins (Rosenzweig, 2004: 18; see also Garland, 1992: 91). And while propaganda may well have characterised the tyrannical regimes that controlled Athens until 511/10, the small issue of small coins under consideration hardly seems the place for such things at this early date.

An alternative explanation for the origin of this cult is equally political: that the *demos* traditionally assembled by this sanctuary (Apolodoros 244 F 113 *FGrH* (= Harpokration s.v. Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη; see also Pirenne-Delforge, 1988). A later inscription, *IG* II² 659 (dated to 287/6), mentions that Pandemos and Peitho were worshipped "in times of old", in the Aphrodisia festival. The inscription specifically refers to the festival, which probably took place on the fourth day of the year, as *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* "...as it had been in times of old": the fourth of each month was sacred to Aphrodite but the fourth day of the year (thus in Hekatombaion) would have been the likeliest day of the Aphrodisia (Mikalson, 1975: 16-18; Simon, 1983: 49). It most likely occurred in the sanctuary on the Southwest slope of the Akropolis (Rosenzweig, 2004: 15-16, 26). Aristophanes certainly presents Peitho as a goddess, when the women in *Lysistrata* (produced in 411) pour a libation to her in taking their oath of abstinence (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*

203-204). This fictional event also took place at the entrance to the Akropolis, presumably adjacent to the Shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho (Stafford, 2000: 126).

Regardless of the origins of her shared cult with Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens, Peitho acquired a political meaning through the fifth century, when she was also popular in Athenian arts, in connection with Aphrodite (Icard-Gianolio, 1994; Borg, 2002: 58-71). *Peitho*, ἡ πειθώ, is a multifaceted word that derives from the verb πείθειν, to persuade, and is etymologically related to the Latin *fido*, to trust, have faith (OLD s.v. *fid*; *fides*, faith, derives from *fido*, and the meaning of *peitho* seems akin to faith, in a fragment of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* fr. 759 N²); persuasion and faith are thus modes of the same concept to the Greeks (Pepe, 1966). With this in mind it is possible to understand *peitho* as the ancient Greeks regarded it, as a civic as well as personal virtue, the consensual force that joined people together in civilised society (LSJ⁹ s.v. πειθώ), through trust and faith in each other, as well as the persuasiveness (Christ, 2006: 40-44, 205-209), inducement (e.g., Euripides, *Iphigenia he en Aulidi* 104), and obedience of individuals (see below). In Aiskhylos' *Eumenides* (885-891), produced in 458, Athena persuades the chorus to accept the jury's decision to acquit Orestes for the sake of the city, by reminding them of the worship of Peitho:

But if you recognise that Peitho receives worship, in the appeasement and charm of my voice, then you might stay with us. But if you wish to stay then it would not be right to inflict your rage upon this city, nor your ill-will or harm to armies. For yours is the wealthy landowners share of this land, in all justice, with full privilege.

Later in the same work (970-976), Aiskhylos contrasts the influence of Peitho with dissention.

Euripides implies that Peitho is the preeminent virtue of the good statesman: "...he who with his speeches [i.e. persuasive speech] delivers (the city) from bad things, relieving her of battles and dissension. For this is good for all the city and for all of Greece" (Euripides, *Autolykos* fr. 282 N²). In his comedy, *Demoi* (fr. 102 KA, trans. Storey,

2003: 14), Eupolis suggested that Perikles was a just such a statesman, aided by *peitho*:

A: This man [Perikles] was the very best at speaking. Whenever he came forward, like the best runners, he'd beat the others at speaking, from more than ten feet back.

B: You mean he spoke quickly?

A: Yes, but in addition to his speed Persuasion [*Peitho*] perched upon his lips, and that's how he charmed the audience; and he alone of the speakers left a sting in his audience.

A scholiast on Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 3.51 mentions that these lines refer to Perikles (Storey, 2003: 35-36).

Regardless of her connection to Aphrodite Pandemos, Peitho's worship at Athens began by the 4th century and continued through Imperial times. Her priestess had an inscribed seat at the Theatre of Dionysos, IG II² 5131 (*SEG* 41.1848). In his *Antidosis* (354/53), Isokrates attests the popularity of Peitho's cult at Athens by the fourth century. In condemning the worship of Peitho as a sign of the negative influence of the sophists, he asserts that she receives annual sacrifices (Isokrates 15.249; Demosthenes, *Exordia* 54 also notes sacrifices to Peitho). Despite Isokrates' complaint, Peitho is neither personified nor divinised in extant sophistic fragments. Peitho was often personified by Attic tragedians (Buxton, 1985: 29-45), but a fragment of Euripides' *Antigone* provides a strong indication that Peitho was not regarded as a divinity by all Athenians at the end of the fifth century: "There is not a sanctuary of Peitho apart from reason, and her altar is in the nature of man" (Euripides, *Antigone* fr. 170 N²). Euripides is characterised as saying this to Aiskhylos, in their *agon* at the end of *Frogs* (Aristophanes, *Batrakhoi* 1391). Euripides has Hekabe note that Peitho, despite her tyrannical power, is neglected (Euripides, *Hekabe* 816).

Peitho is implicated as a civic virtue in her roles as personification of both erotic (Gross, 1985) and political Persuasion (Pirenne-Delforge, 1991; see also Parker, 2005: 408). Ploutarkhos connected her erotic, rhetorical, and political powers, explaining that the Greeks set up statues of Peitho and the Kharites (Graces) near

Aphrodite "...so that married people should succeed in attaining their mutual desires by persuasion and not fighting or quarreling" (Ploutarkhos, *Ethika* 138c-d; Stafford, 1999). Her importance as a matrimonial divinity, the force that persuades lovers to marry, is noted elsewhere by Ploutarkhos, who lists her as one of five divinities invoked by new couples (along with Zeus Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, and Artemis (Ploutarkhos, *Ethika* 264b). Peitho is more commonly associated with Artemis (than Aphrodite) in the Peloponnesos (Stafford, 2000: 117-121).

The idea of *peitho* as an agreeable compulsion associated with erotic inducement, probably underscored the development of rhetorical *peitho* (Mourelatos, 1970: 139). Peitho's erotic and rhetorical powers are not mutually exclusive. Stafford rightly emphasises the importance of the visual aspect of *peitho*—persuasion through non-verbal means—which "blurs the boundaries" between Peitho's rhetorical and erotic spheres (Stafford, 2000: 111; see also Wardy, 1996: 47-50, and Goldhill, 1998 [re. Sokrates and Theodote in Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* 3.11] and 2000: 161-179). Peitho's appearances solely with matrimonial divinities are excluded from this discussion and the catalogue, as those images are not revealing with regard to Peitho's political aspect; hereafter I will concentrate on Peitho's role as a political personification at Athens.

Rhetorical Peitho is implicated in personal, erotic matters, as well as civic concerns, as at the abduction of Helene. Gorgias mentions *peitho* (not personified) as an evil force in his late fifth century *Enkomion of Helene*, although he suggests that the *logoi* (arguments) induced Helene to follow her destiny: "...these [*logoi*] bewitched and led her soul to a certain evil persuasion" (82 B11.14 DK). Peitho is present in many visual representations of the Helene myth throughout the late Archaic and Classical periods (Hedreen 1996, 156-161). On the Heimarmene Painter's name vase in Berlin, **VP 16** (fig. 4.2) Helene, dressed as a bride, sits in the lap of Aphrodite, while Peitho holds a small box (wedding presents or other inducements?). In earlier representations Peitho also attends Helene (Schöne, 1990). She may also

attend Helene's bridal bath, shown on on a squat *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter, 410-400, formerly in London, **VP 42** (fig. 5.4). The figure in the top left of this scene has been variously identified as Eunomia or Peitho. The presence of Eunomia (Good Order) would be inappropriate at Helene's adulterous 'bridal bath' before Paris' arrival in Sparta (Shapiro, 1993: 77-78). Peitho is normally present, however, in such scenes with Helene, e.g. **VP 16** (fig. 4.2). In the latest appearance of Peitho, at the encounter of Helene and Paris, **VP 56**, Peitho lurks in the background (fig. 5.5). Is it surely Peitho who is blamed in this instance, for the only other named personification, Habrosyne (Luxuriousness), represents in name and image the luxurious situation in which Helene finds herself as a result of this union. As if to emphasise this superficiality, Helene, seated in the middle of the scene, looks into a mirror that she holds in front of herself. Habrosyne, who appears just this once, in the upper left corner of the *hydria*, cleverly reflects the figure of Helene (at centre) in both pose and dress. Habrosyne appears sporadically in Greek literature, from the Archaic period (Sappho fr. 79 LP; Euripides, *Orestes* 349; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1; see Kurke, 1992), but never as a personification.

Most Attic representations of Peitho emphasise her erotic role. A simple composition attributed to Polygnotos, 440-430, on a small *hydria* in London, illustrates Peitho with Himeros (Desire): BM 1867.5-8.1044 (ARV² 1033.66; BA 213449). Peitho is commonly found in mythic scenes that concern courtship and marriage. She attends: the marriage of Alkestis and Admetos, on a *loutrophoros* in Athens, attributed to the Methyse Painter, 450-440 (Athens, Fethiye Djami NA 1957-Aa 757 and Aa 757a [ARV² 632.1; BA 207336]); the union of Ariadne and Dionysos on a cup attributed to the Kodros Painter, 440-430, in Würzburg, **VP 13**; the wedding of Harmonia on the Eretria Painter's *epinetron* in Athens, **VP 19** (fig. 5.6); the union of Aphrodite and Adonis on a Kerch relief *khous* attributed to the workshop of Xenophantos, in St. Petersburg (State Hermitage Museum 3Φ. 4 [UKV 103, 140, figs. 41-42]); and the marriage of Thetis and Peleus

on an 'aryballos' (probably a *lekythos*) dating to the early fourth century, once in the collection of Dr. Edward Clarke in Cambridge (Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 244 s.v. Peitho no. 10). On **VP 13**, as Angelika Schöne originally suggested, Peitho's presence at the union of Ariadne and Dionysos implies that Ariadne hasn't yet given herself up to the wine god (Schöne, 1987: 61-62, no. 168). This reading is consistent with Peitho's presence at the abduction of Helene, and is supported by the presence of Pothos (Yearning...for love) at her side. Neither Peitho's purpose (if interpreted correctly above) nor her appearance (she is not shown as a maenad) are out of line with Peitho's role in the circle of Aphrodite, although this is her only appearance in the circle of Dionysos. Peitho flees from the "scene of the crime," the rape of the Leukippidai, on the Hamilton *Hydria*, the name vase of the Meidias Painter, **VP 26** (cover, **fig. 1.1**). The implication here may have been that she was guilty of convincing Leukippos' daughters to elope with the Dioskouroi (the women do not appear to be unhappy with the results). Peitho's dramatic escape might also imply that she did not condone this union in accordance with Athenian standards; the scene thus serves as a counterexample of the ideal marriage.

Whether or not in mythic scenes, Peitho was probably meant to be an erotic personification, for she is shown in her generic role, attending Aphrodite and/or brides on vases from the end of the fifth century and the fourth century. Peitho is thought to be the attendant of Aphrodite on the front of a Kerch *pelike* in St. Petersburg, attributed to the Eleusinian Painter, 340-330, **VP 71**, which shows the gods planning the Trojan War (**fig. 4.6**). As Peitho is far removed from the centre of the scene, it is doubtful that the artist meant to implicate her in the planning of the war. Peitho is probably the unlabeled attendant on contemporary vases showing bridal scenes (Shapiro, 1993: 195; see also Connor, 1989). In labeled representations, Peitho prepares a *kanoun* (sacrificial basket) on a squat *lekythos* in London, **VP 40**; arranges fronds on a squat *lekythos* in New York, **VP 41** (**fig. 8.5**); and holds a footed chest and a sash towards Aphrodite, on a *pyxis* in

New York **VP 49** (**fig. 5.7**). Peitho is anomalously independent of Aphrodite on the acorn *lekythos* in Paris, **VP 44**, and a small *hydria*, once in the Hope Collection, **VP 51**. As the labels on the former are thought to be modern, and the latter may not be confirmed by inspection, further attention to these two exceptions is unwarranted. Peitho's civic importance is implicit in her appearance with other personifications of civic virtues in late fifth century vase painting, particularly those in the circle of the Meidias Painter. She appears with Eudaimonia (Happiness) on **VP 40** and **49** (**fig. 5.7**); Eukleia (Good Repute) on **VP 49** (**fig. 5.7**), and **51** and perhaps also on **VP 16** (**fig. 4.2**), **17** (**figs. 5.8** and **5.18**), and **VP 42** (**fig. 5.4**); Eunomia (Good Order) on **VP 17** (**figs. 5.8** and **5.18**), **40**, and **49** (**fig. 5.7**); Hygieia on **VP 26** (**fig. 1.1**) and **49** (**fig. 5.7**); Paidia (Play) on **VP 40** and **49** (**fig. 5.7**); and perhaps Themis on **VP 16** (**fig. 4.2**).

Peitho's role in childbirth is underscored by her attendance at some divine births. According to Hesiodos she came with the Kharites (Graces) to assist in the creation of Pandora (Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 73-74, *Theogonia* 573; see also Pindaros fr. 123.14 Snell-Mähler; Bérard, 1974: 91-92, 161-164). Peitho was one of the Kharites according to Hesiodos (Fr. 105 [Calame]=Ploutarkhos, *Ethika* 318a and Sch. Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 73), as well as Hermesianax (cited by Pausanias 9.35.5). Peitho is absent, however, from Hesiodos' second mention of the Pandora myth (*Theogonia* 570-584). She is not shown at Pandora's birth in extant art, and the copies of the most famous image of that story—on the base of the cult statue of Athena Parthenos (Pausanias 5.11.8)—are too fragmentary to warrant secure identification of Peitho as a participant (see, most recently, Kosmopoulou, 2002: 112-117, cat. 59). She joins the Kharites at the birth of Aphrodite, which was depicted on the lost relief decorated base of the throne of Pheidias' cult statue of Olympian Zeus in the 430s. Literary sources do not mention Peitho's attendance at Aphrodite's birth, but rather mention the presence of the Horai (*Hymnos Homerikos eis Aphroditēn* 1-13), or Eros (Love) and Himeros (Desire)

(Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 191-202). A similar scene is shown on a slightly earlier white ground type A *pyxis*, attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter (460-450), with a representation of Peitho: Ancona, Archeologico Museo Regionale delle Marche 3130 (ARV² 899.144, 1674; Add² 303; BA 211902). Peitho appears in the context of childrearing twice on late fifth century Attic vases: on the white-ground squat *lekythos* in Kansas City, attributed to the Eretria Painter, 430-420, which has been interpreted, on the basis of a misread label, as a representation of the childhood of the Attic hero Kephalos, VP 17 (fig. 5.8) (Jucker, 1973: 63); and with Aphrodite and the Muses, in the presence of the baby Eumolpos, another Attic hero, on a *pelike* in New York, attributed to the Meidias Painter, VP 27 (fig. 5.9).

Peitho's long-standing connection to Aphrodite and brides is so natural, however, that we need not interpret her appearance on Attic vases of the late fifth century as motivated by a certain political faction. Peitho has been interpreted as a democratic prerogative, as she is rooted in the origins of Athenian democracy through her cult association with Aphrodite Pandemos (Buxton, 1985). Her undeniable popularity as a civic and political concept at this time—Athenian politicians, whether democrats or oligarchs, effected their will through *peitho*—might have encouraged enthusiasm for her cult. This may be reflected, in turn, in an increase in her appearances in Attic arts. But her role as the symbol of the political behaviour that enabled the Athenian democracy (persuading the *demos* of one's own view) is not explicit in any extant visual representations of the goddess. Peitho is "...the patron of civilised life and democratic institutions...the spirit of agreement, bargain, contract, consensus, exchange, and negotiation in a free *polis*" (Mourelatos, 1970: 139). She could accordingly fit into any political system, and was revered for the various applications, in private and public life, of the virtues that she represented—persuasion, persuasiveness, inducement, faith, trust, and even obedience. Her persistent appearance in the circle of Aphrodite, with other personifications of civic virtues,

simply reinforces her cult association with Aphrodite Pandemos, and thus her importance to the whole city.

Civic Harmony

Like Peitho, Harmonia (Harmony) was known in Greek art and literature as a mythical heroine as well as a personification before the Classical period, although her popularity in Athens grew in the last third of the fifth century (Bundrick, 2005: 193-196). The myth of Harmonia, the wife of Kadmos, goes back to the epics: in Hesiodos' *Theogonia*, she is the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 937; Rocchi, 1989). In this myth she is already a personification (Jouan, 1980), as she represents the noun for which she is named. She is the product of the union of antithetical forces, war and love, the respective spheres of her parents. Ploutarkhos uses the aitiological aspect of Harmonia's name to justify the homosexual bond of the "Theban Band" (army), citing the appropriateness of Harmonia's home among the Thebans, where the young men brought harmony to their city through the combination of warlike natures and the grace of love (Ploutarkhos, *Pelopidas* 19). The other children of Ares and Aphrodite—Phobos (Fear) and Deimos (Terror) (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 934)—are, however, less aitiological. Although Otto Crusius argued that these were two distinct figures bearing the same name (Roscher 1832 s.v. Harmonia), it is more likely that the mythical heroine and personification are the same character, as Shapiro has argued (1993: 95).

The myth of Kadmos and Harmonia is pictured in Archaic Attic art and on monuments from the Peloponnesos, such as the late sixth century Throne of Apollon at Amyklai (Pausanias 3.18.9-12; Shapiro, 1993: 96-105). The scene of the meeting of Kadmos and Harmonia at the spring guarded by the dragon becomes more popular in the second half of the fifth century, with little variation except for the addition of the local personification, Thebe (as discussed in chapter 3, 30-32), on the Kadmos Painter's

name vase in Berlin and perhaps also on the St. Petersburg *hydria* in the manner of the Kadmos Painter (see 32, above). As this myth is Theban, not Athenian, and does not directly concern Harmonia's aspect as a political personification, I will focus attention rather on the Attic representations of Harmonia apart from Kadmos.

Harmonia retained her connection with Aphrodite at Athens, and was commonly shown in her circle on painted vases, seemingly as a personification of marital as well as civic Harmony (Rosenzweig, 2004: 6). Already in the first half of the fifth century, the chorus in Aiskhylos' *Hiketides* reveres Harmonia as a marital virtue, perhaps an aspect of Aphrodite (Aiskhylos, *Hiketides* 1039-1043). When Harmonia is shown separately from Kadmos in fifth century Athens, she appears in bridal scenes, where her primary role must be as the personification of an idealised Marriage, a particular type of Harmony. This marital Harmonia may have been akin to Homonoia (Concord, see chapter 11, 124), as Milesian brides and grooms worshipped at the temple of Homonoia, in the post-Classical novel by Khariton, *Khaireas and Kallirhoe* 3.2.16. Fifth century writers used the verbal form of her name, *harmonoiein*, ἀρμόζειν, to mean "to become engaged" (Herodotos 9.108, Pindaros, *Pythionike* 9.117) or (in the middle voice) "to marry" (Herodotos 5.32). The bridal preparations of Harmonia constitute one of three bridal scenes shown on the Eretria Painter's *epinetron*, **VP 19** (fig. 5.6). In the scene on one of the long sides of this object, Harmonia is accompanied by her mother, Aphrodite, who holds the fateful necklace created for the bride by Hephaistos, and by her attendants, Peitho, Eros (Love), and Himeros (Desire). This is the same necklace used later by Polyneikos to bribe Eriphyle (Diodoros of Sicily 6.65; Sch. Pindaros, *Pythionike* 3.167; Sch. Euripides, *Phoeinix* 71). Harmonia gazes at Kore (Maidenhood) and Hebe (Youth), the two qualities that she is about to abandon. The Eretria Painter has represented Harmonia's many aspects in this composition. As the heroine engaged to Kadmos, she typifies the hesitant bride: Aphrodite and Peitho comfort her. Simultaneously, as the daughter of Aphro-

dite and Ares, she personifies the harmonious union of these opposite forces, in a marriage that is influenced by Peitho (Shapiro, 1986a: 15; see also Kousser, 2004: 103). The relation of *peitho* to *harmonia* (and to *eris* [discord]) is expressed concisely by Richard Buxton: "In the right place—marriage—Peitho brings men and women harmonious delight; in the wrong place—illicit sexual relationships—Peitho can be an agent of discord and catastrophe" (1985: 37).

The role of Harmonia, the personification, was not limited to marriage in fifth century Athens. Like Peitho she bridges the private world of the bride and the public world of the *polis*. In the sixth century, pre-Socratic philosophers consider *harmonia*, whether or not personified, a force of union, close in meaning to *philia* (friendship) (Rosler, 2005: 107-108, 165). Herakleitos discusses *harmonia* as a force of equilibrium between contrary tensions (22 B51 DK), while Empedokles sees it as a force that coheres natural elements (31 B27.3, 96.4, 122.2 DK): Geoffrey Kirk proposes a translation of *harmonia* here as "connection," or "method of joining" (Kirk, 1962: 207). In the fifth century, *harmonia*, ἡ ἀρμονία, pertained to order and stability in the *polis*. In Aiskhylos' *Prometheus Desmotes*, as noted in chapter 2, 52-53, *harmonia* is a covenant set by Zeus. Here the meaning of *harmonia* is close to *eunomia* (good order): personifications of these two concepts are represented together on two late fifth century vases, **VP 45** and **48** (see the discussion of Eunomia in chapter 6, 72-73). On these vases, and perhaps also on **VP 44**, Harmonia is joined by other political personifications: Hygieia on **VP 44** and **48**; Peitho on **VP 44**; Eukleia on **VP 45**; Eudaimonia and Paidia on **VP 48**. These scenes advertise virtues that may be useful to the *polis*. Harmonia is particularly suitable as an advertisement of civic virtues on vases that may have been used as wedding gifts. Like the gift itself, Harmonia bridges the realms of public and private, and represents the private and public aspects of marriage as well as civic harmony.

Another mythic aspect of Harmonia, as the mother of the Muses, suits her third role, as a personification of musical Harmony. In his ode

to Athens, in *Medea* (produced in 431, just before the Peloponnesian War), Euripides calls Harmonia the mother of the Muses and associates her with Sophia (Wisdom). He even goes so far as to imply that the birth of the Muses was an Athenian event (Euripides, *Medea* 830-832). The Muses then sing at Harmonia's wedding to Kadmos (Theognis 15-18; Pausanias 9.12.3). At Athens, however, the connection between Harmonia and the Muses is visualised on the front of a *pelike* in New York, attributed to the Meidian Painter, **VP 27** (fig. 5.9). This image, which is nearly contemporary with Euripides, shows Harmonia and some of the Muses at a performance by the Attic (Eleusinian) singer Mousaios, as well as his wife, Deiope, and his son, the hero Eumolpos, shown as a baby (Weidauer, 1985; Harrison, 2000), Aphrodite, and Peitho. The inclusion of Mousaios and Eumolpos brings an element of Athenian civic pride to this scene, so that the personifications, Harmonia and Peitho, are understood here in their civic contexts, as the forces that bring about civic unity. "The scene clearly alludes to two distinct meanings of the personified Harmonia, which are also captured in the English word harmony, the musical and the civic/political" (Shapiro, 1993: 109).

Other personifications in the realm of Aphrodite

A retinue of other personifications is found in the company of Aphrodite: Eudaimonia (Prosperity, Happiness) and her twin Eutykhia (Prosperity, Good Luck); Paidia (Play) who, like Eudaimonia, is also associated with Dionysos; and Eukleia (Good Repute) and Eunomia (Good Order). These last two, who appear with other divinities besides Aphrodite and her entourage, receive separate treatment in chapter 6, while the others are discussed here.

The personifications of Prosperity—Eudaimonia and Eutykhia—were created in the late fifth century, when they are known best from images of the entourage of Aphrodite on Attic vase paintings. Beyond their appearances with

Aphrodite—and Eudaimonia's one appearance with Dionysos, on **VP 21** (fig. 5.10)—there is no suggestion that they were worshipped in the Classical period. They both represented prosperity, a virtue whose universal appeal might belong in both divine circles: followers of Aphrodite and Dionysos, as well as other gods, would pray for personal and civic prosperity, particularly in times of war. Eutykhia, from ἡ εὐτυχία, connotes success and good luck that are perhaps the causes of prosperity, whereas Eudaimonia, from ἡ εὐδαιμονία, refers more to the happiness that results from material prosperity (as in Pindaros, *Nemeonike* 7.56, Herodotos 1.5.32, Thukydidēs 2.97; see LSJ⁹ s.v. εὐδαιμονέω). The two personifications would thus compliment each other when shown together, as on one of the Meidian *hydriai* in Florence, **VP 24** (fig. 5.11): Eutykhia, standing, holds a mirror into which the seated Eudaimonia looks (presumably to admire herself). Perhaps the implication is that Eudaimonia (Happiness) is found through Eutykhia (Success and Good Luck). On parallel with this scene the unidentified standing figure on the Meidian plate in Leuven, **VP 28** (fig. 5.14) might also be Eutykhia. As **VP 24** is the only certain representation of the two together, however, I will discuss each personification separately below.

Although the noun *eudaimonia* was used to mean happiness as early as the seventh century, in the *Hymnos Homerikos eis Athenan* (11.5), it was first personified in the mid-fifth century, by Prodikos of Keos, in his famous "Choice of Herakles" (see also the discussion of this text in chapter 2, 17). In this morality tale, Herakles is forced to choose between Arete (ἡ Ἀρετή), Virtue or Excellence, and Kakia (ἡ Κακία), Vice or Cowardice. As part of her attempted seduction of the hero, Kakia explains to Herakles that her friends call her Eudaimonia. This negative presentation of Eudaimonia as the *alter ego* of Kakia is not, however, representative of her role in fifth century thought; even Antisthenes (in the late fifth century) classed *eudaimonia* as a derivative of *arete*, perhaps in reaction to Prodikos' harsh representation of Eudaimonia (Rankin, 1986: 100-108; Rosler, 2005: 123-124). In visual arts

of Athens Eudaimonia is shown exclusively on vases dating to the last two decades of the fifth century, surrounded by other beneficent personifications, so that her role as a virtue is secure. Her position as a civic virtue is emphasised in fourth-century texts that associate Eudaimonia with the excellence of citizens: Aristoteles (*Ethika Nikomacheia* 1098a16-17) sees *eudaimonia* as the activity in which the soul exhibits human excellence. Her seductive role as the personification of material prosperity is clearly expressed, however, on a squat *lekythos* in London, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, on which she holds a necklace towards a youth, Polykles, VP 37 (fig. 5.12). On a *pyxis* in New York, also in the manner of the Meidias Painter, she lures Paidia (Play) with a similar necklace, VP 49 (fig. 5.7). She may also be the seated woman on a squat *lekythos* attributed to Aison, VP 23 (fig. 5.13), who lures a standing Paidia with a necklace. Eudaimonia turns her back on Paidia on VP 48, a *pyxis* in London, but looks covetously towards a necklace that Himeros (Desire) dangles in front of her.

Eudaimonia represents agricultural prosperity on another squat *lekythos* in London, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, VP 40. Here she plucks from a tree fruit with which to fill her plate, which we will find also in the hands of Opora (Harvest), on VP 21 (fig. 5.10) and VP 22 (fig. 7.2). In her only appearance in the circle of Dionysos—on VP 21, a volute krater in Ruvo, attributed to the Kadmos Painter (420-410)—Eudaimonia holds a branch that evokes her agricultural aspect (fig. 5.10). Like Eirene (Peace) and Opora, she is probably meant to be a maenad here (Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988a), although her appearance and role are similar to her epiphany in the circle of Aphrodite (Shapiro, 1988a; Smith, 2005a; see also the discussion of maenads in chapter 3, 36-37). On VP 28, the Meidian plate in Leuven, Eudaimonia's garland is celebratory, rather than agricultural (fig. 5.14; see also 5.15). As Burn has suggested, there may be two events celebrated here: the arrival of Asklepios' cult at Athens and perhaps also a *dithyrambic* victory (indicated by the tripod in the background) (Burn, 1987: 71, following Cramers & Simon, 1978). This is the first

extant Attic representation of Asklepios, and the only representation of him as a child; his extreme youth may be a reminder of the newness of the cult (Burn, 1987: 65). The tripod might also be an allusion to Asklepios' connection with the poet Sophokles, in whose home the healing god's new sanctuary was said to have been temporarily housed (Allan, 2004: 136-137; Walton, 1935).

Besides her appearance with Eutykhia on one of the Meidian *hydriai* in Florence, VP 24, discussed above (fig. 5.11), Eudaimonia's closest connection with another personification is on VP 25, the other Meidian *hydria* in Florence, on which she is shown leaning on Hygieia (fig. 5.2). This suggests that that civic prosperity (agricultural and otherwise) relies on healthy citizens. Eudaimonia, who is seated ("in the lap of luxury") in half of her eight appearances on Attic vases—VP 24 (fig. 5.11), 25 (fig. 5.2), 28, and 37 (fig. 5.12)—certainly conveys the image of a healthy, prosperous woman.

The word *eutykhia* (ἡ εὐτυχία), is not known until the 470s, when Pindaros uses it to describe the good luck that the gods bestowed on Hagiasias of Syrakousa, to celebrate his victory at the games of either 476 or 472 (while Hieron ruled Syrakousa) (Pindaros, *Olympionike* 6.81). *Eutykhia* also appears in fragments of two lyric poets: fr. 846.5 (Hermolokhos) and fr. 921a3 Page, *PMG*. *Eutykhia* soon becomes common in literature, but not necessarily as a personification. In Athenian visual arts, the personification Eutykhia is restricted to vases painted in the last two decades of the fifth century: perhaps she was a spontaneous creation of the artists (Shapiro, 1993: 86). Eutykhia's appearance and attire are remarkably similar in three of her four appearances. On one of the Meidian *hydriai* in Florence, VP 24 (fig. 5.11), and the two squat *lekythoi* by the Makaria Painter, in Reading and Baltimore, VP 32-33, she stands in a three-quarter view to the right, and wears a sleeveless *khiton*, belted at the waist (fig. 5.16). In the representations by the Makaria Painter, Eutykhia (like Eudaimonia) is laden with boxes and jewels, as befits a personification of Prosperity. The unidentified figure, labeled EY[...], on the Meidian plate in

Leuven, **VP 28** (**fig. 5.14**) is similarly dressed, and stands in the same position, so she might also be Eutykhia. One might then be tempted to identify as Eutykhia the woman leaning in a three-quarter view to the left, on the Karlsruhe Paris (discussed above, 48), although the more elaborately adorned seated woman has traditionally been thought to be the figure identified by the EYTYXIA label on that vase. Both of these figures, however, play identical roles: they watch the judgment of Paris, and hold celebratory garlands or wreaths, perhaps to insinuate that Aphrodite, whose side (of the vase) they are on, will win the contest (Burn, 1987: 66). Eutykhia is shown here as a representation of success rather than prosperity. As she is shown with personifications of personal and civic virtues in most of her other appearances—Eudaimonia, Hygieia, and Paidia on **VP 24** (**fig. 5.1**), perhaps Eudaimonia on **VP 28** (**fig. 5.14**) and Eunomia and Paidia on **VP 33**—Eutykhia too may be taken as a personification of a civic virtue implicated in the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos. She joins Makaria (Happiness) in bringing gifts (of Prosperity and Happiness) to Aphrodite, Eros, and Himeros (Shapiro, 1993: 171-172), on the squat *lekythos* in Reading, **VP 32** (**fig. 5.16**). The likely implication is that Aphrodite will deliver these gifts to her followers, and specifically to the owner / recipient of the vase (perhaps a bride).

Paidia (Play, Pastime, Amusement) is a personification known only from the visual sources, from the 430s to the 390s (Borg, 2005: 196-197; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141-143). She appears in the circles of Dionysos and Aphrodite, as is equally suited to both, although she tends to represent musical or theatrical amusement in the former, child's play in the latter, and erotic play perhaps in both. There is no evidence of any worship that she may have received. Paidia first appears in the circle of Dionysos on the Kodros' Painter's cup in Würzburg, which is dated to the 430s, **VP 13** (**fig. 5.17**). The exterior of the cup shows a standard scene of satyrs playing and dancing with maenads. Paidia appears among these maenads once or twice: she is clearly labeled on the front, while the woman on the back, bearing

a *kantharos* and labeled [...]Δ IA is more likely to be Eudia (Tranquility or Prosperity), a quality akin to Opora (see chapter 7, 78-80), as her attribute, the *kantharos*, symbolises prosperity (Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988b). The verb *paizein* (παίζειν) from which *paidia* (ἡ παιδιὰ) derives, appears on the earliest Greek inscription, the 'Dipylon *Oinokhoe*' of the late eighth century (Jeffery, 1990: 68, pl. 1.1). It was used from this time to refer specifically to dancing, so Paidia on the Kodros Painter's cup may refer to the dance that the satyrs perform. Paidia, who holds a tambourine and dances among satyrs and maenads on a later krater from the Agora, in the manner of the Dinos Painter (420-410), may also refer to dancing, as well as to musical entertainment. Paidia is shown several decades later among satyrs and maenads who act out the *gigantomakhia* on the back of the fragmentary calyx krater near the style of the Pronomos Painter (also connected with the Talos Painter), c. 410-400: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81521 (ARV² 1338.13, 1690; *Add*² 366; BA 217517). Perhaps the painter of this vase included Paidia to indicate that this is not the 'real' *gigantomakhia* (which is shown on the front of the same vase), but rather a theatrical reenactment of it, for the sake of amusement. This dramatic/musical Paidia is also shown among satyrs and maenads on an early fourth century *pelike* in Empúries, **VP 52**, in the presence of the divine patrons of theatre and music, Dionysos and Apollon (**fig. 5.3**). As noted previously, although the traditional interpretation of this vase is that it commemorated a choral victory at the *Thargelia*, I prefer to see it as a generalised festival context, filled with all the entities that comprise a dramatic festival (see the discussion of Hygieia above, 53-55). Heide Froning has suggested that this Paidia may represent the satyr play, in which the satyrs were known as *paizontes*, just as Komoidia (Comedy) and Tragoidia (Tragedy) on the *pelike* represent those other two genres of drama (Froning, 1971: 10; for another possible Paidia, see Schwarz, 1989: 2). A young woman seated at the end of Dionysos' *kline* on a theatrical votive relief in Athens, Athens, NM 1500, dated to 410-400, has been plausibly

identified as Paidia on account of the inscribed label, [...]ΔΙΑ, beneath her. Most scholars have accepted this identification, originally suggested by Jane Harrison, as the preferable reading of the inscription (Harrison, 1903: 360). Tragoidia and Komoidia might also complete the extant inscription, but would be redundant with the figures bearing masks at the left side of the frieze. Froning has suggested that Paidia is the unlabeled woman similarly seated at the end of Dionysos' *kline* on a contemporary volute krater in Naples, the name vase of the Pronomos Painter (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81673 (ARV² 1336.1, 1704; *Add²* 365-366; *Para* 480; BA 217500). To bolster her idea that the Pronomos Vase shows the gathering of the cast of a satyr play, Froning suggests that Paidia represents the satyr play in both the relief and the vase. While such a suggestion is tempting, the figures on both *klinai* are not exactly parallel: the seated 'woman' on the vase carries a mask, while the figure on the relief does not. It is also doubtful that such a specific meaning was intended for Paidia in visual arts, as *paidia* was never used in written sources to refer specifically to the satyr play. In the context of the scene presented on the Pronomos Vase—probably a celebration of a Tetralogy victory (sort of a 'cast party')—it is more likely, however, that the unlabelled seated 'woman' on the *kline* is, in fact, a male actor playing a role. For a thorough exploration of this vase and its implications, now see Taplin & Wyles, 2010.

Erotic Paidia provides the link between her representations in the circles of Dionysos and Aphrodite. She makes a late appearance in the circle of Dionysos, on the tondo of the Jena Painter's cup in Würzburg, from the 390s (as discussed in chapter 3, 36). Here Paidia is clearly engaged in sex with a satyr named Khorillos. To distinguish whether this Paidia is a nymph or a maenad is probably unnecessary: both nymphs and maenads were occasionally depicted nude, and Jennifer Larson at least sees nudity as an indication of divine status (of a nymph) (Larson, 2001: 93-95; see also this discussion of maenads as nymphs in chapter 3, 35-37). In the same decade, a more subtle reference to the erotic aspect of Paidia is

her appearance with one of Aphrodite's winged companions, Himeros (Desire), on a squat *lekkythos* in Munich, c. 400-390: Antikensammlung V.I.887 (Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141-142 s.v. Paidia no. 7, pl. 95). Here the two child spirits are playing with swings, an image that recalls the scene of a woman, perhaps Paidia, pushing a swinging boy, on two small *hydriai* attributed to the Washing Painter (430-420): Berlin F 2394 (ARV² 1131.172; *Add²* 333; *Para* 454; BA 214982) and Paris, Louvre CA 2191 (ARV² 1131.173; BA 214983). These images of swing pushing are also plausibly connected with the 'swing festival,' a purification rite in the *Anthesteria* of Dionysos (Parke, 1977: 118-119).

The juvenile aspect of Paidia is most obvious on a *pyxis* in New York, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, 410-400, **VP 49 (fig. 5.7)**. On this vase Paidia enthusiastically plays a stick balancing game with herself. Her curly, shoulder-length hair, tied in a high ponytail and a simple sleeveless *khiton* give her a girlish appearance in comparison with her companions. Her appearance is similar on other late fifth century vases, where she loiters with more personifications of civic virtues—**VP 24 (fig. 5.1)**, **33**, **40**, and perhaps **VP 23 (fig. 5.13)**. This youthful, childish Paidia has been mistaken for Paideia (Childhood, Upbringing, Enculturation) in modern scholarship, although the personification's name is always spelled ΠΑΙΔΙΑ (rather than ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ) in the intact labels (Metzler, 1980: 83; Rocha Pereira, 1994: 140-141, rejects supposed [unlabelled] personifications of Paideia). (For *paideia* in general see Jaeger, 1946; for the personification of *paideia* in Late Antiquity, see Leader-Newby 2005, 231-246). The close relationship of the two words, *paidia*, ἡ παιδιό, and *paideia*, ἡ παιδεία, is expressed in Platon's *Nomoi* (written in the 350s), when the old Athenian refers to the educational and recreational aspects of music (Platon, *Nomoi* 656c; Robb, 1994: 41 n. 25; for political significance of *paideia* see Rosler, 2005: 228-230). With his definition of *paideia* as "the education in *arete* from youth onwards, which makes men passionately desire to become perfect citizens, knowing both how to rule and how to be

ruled on a basis of justice” (Platon, *Nomoi* 643e; trans. Jaeger [Highet], 1946: 113), that is, a broad interpretation of culture, Platon of course sees an erotic element.³ It is then tempting to infer the occasional word play on the part of Attic vase painters, and to read Paideia in addition to Paidia in that personification’s more mature epiphanies on late fifth century to early fourth century vases, VP 17 (fig. 5.18), 46 (fig. 6.1),⁴ 48, and 52 (fig. 5.3). This *double entendre* would be particularly appropriate for the figure labeled Paidia on the white ground squat *lekythos* in Kansas City, attributed to the Eretria Painter, 430-420, VP 17 (fig. 5.18), as she seems to be involved in the upbringing of the child shown in the centre of the scene.

Shapiro has speculated that Paidia appeared personified in a comedy by Krates (450-425) that dealt with children’s games, *Paidiai* (Krates frs. 27-29 KA; Shapiro, 1993: 180-181). Whether or not Krates actually put Paidia on stage, however, this play is but one expression of the burgeoning interest in games at the outset of the Peloponnesian War (Ruhfel, 1984). Perhaps the contemporary enthusiasm for play is itself the reason for the popularity of the personification Paidia among vase painters and their patrons during the Peloponnesian War. This is one aspect of the escapist style that pervades later fifth century Attic art (Pollitt,

1972: 115-125). Paidia is barely political apart from her inclusion in Aphrodite’s entourage. Like the civic virtues who are her companions, however, she recalled the pleasures enjoyed by individuals in a civilised *polis* during times of peace. It is no wonder that Paidia disappears from the repertoire of Attic artists, and perhaps also from the minds of Athenians, after the first decade of the fourth century, when ‘peace’ brought poverty and disillusionment, and little time or cause for play.

Civic expressions in public processions

As the Peloponnesian War witnessed Athens’ decline in population, as well as wealth, it is not surprising that the arts of Athens at this time, both literary and visual, are suffused with images of the fertility for which Athenians hoped (Hornblower, 1983: 172). The civic importance of lawful marriage for the sake of giving birth to future citizens, which is vitally important in times of war, was publicly acknowledged at Athens by Perikles in his famous funeral oration (430) (Thoukydides 2.44; on ancient Greek marriage see Smith, 2011). Such scenes on wedding vases attributed to the circle of the Meidias Painter were a similar public acknowledgment of the importance of the virtues or graces that, according to Aristoteles, at least, helped to smooth the operation of the city. Gloria Ferrari has rightly noted that, while modern discussions of ancient Greek marriage dwell on the *oikos* (a private estate, comprising more than a household in our modern sense), “ancient discourse about marriage revolves instead around the state and citizenship and is at pains to distinguish the kind of partnership that ensures the permanence of the *polis* from that which ensures the continuity of the *oikos*” (Ferrari, 2002: 196). One such ancient discussion is that of Aristoteles in his excursus on the nature and origins of the state (Aristoteles, *Politika* 1252a26-30; see Osborne, 1990: 267-268). Such marriages are partnerships between (groups of) men, in which women, like the virtues themselves, are mere commodities: entities owned, nurtured, displayed, and sometimes exchanged.

³ I have benefited greatly from discussion with Alex Schiller on this matter.

⁴ Paidia is the woman bearing gifts. When I investigated this *lekanis* in February 1996, I read the label between these women as ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, rather than ΠΑΦΙΑ, an alternate name for Aphrodite, which has been usually ascribed to the seated woman on the rocks. The third letter of the dipinto for this figure is clearly a Δ (for a similar misspelling of Paidia see a squat *lekythos* in Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 887, noted above 65. Cornelia Christmann, whose reading agrees with mine, wondered whether the name would refer to the standing figure or the seated figure (Junker ed., 1999: 90). As the name proceeds from the front of the face of the standing figure it almost certainly refers to her—on parallel with the tendency discussed above, 22. The standing figure with the necklace is certainly more girlish, in the typical manner of Paidia. I am inclined to interpret the seated figure that she faces as Hygieia, to whom oils or salves such as would be found in the alabastron might be particularly appropriate. This pairing of Paidia and Hygieia mirrors the pairing of these two on VP 24.

These vases are peopled with women whose labeled names reveal that they were intended as personifications of virtues. These personifications represent beneficent concepts and other aspects of civilised life that may be taken as personal as well as public, or civic, virtues. Particularly in representations on painted vases—which comprise most of the extant art works made during the Peloponnesian War—personifications occupy a continuum between genre and mythic scenes. As Robert Sutton has explained (1992, 26) with regard to wedding vases,

While the two extremes of the mythical and contemporary worlds can be identified, most representations lie in an undifferentiated middle ground. This deliberate blurring of the boundaries between myth and genre makes elements of both felt simultaneously, presumably to enhance the actual weddings at which the painted scenes were viewed.

The ease with which the personifications could be transported between the mythical and the contemporary is surely related to their intermediate place on the continuum from divine to mortal. Their roles in visual representations associate them with divinities—such as Aphrodite, Eros, Nike, and, to a lesser degree, Dionysos—or as attributes of divinities (Bazant, 1990: 105-108). Yet as personifications their actions associate themselves with mortals.

Just as artists used personifications to blur the distinctions between myth and genre, or divine and human, they blurred any distinctions between public and private audiences. This blurring of public and private was a distinctive feature of Athenian civic life during the high Classical period that is evidenced in the wedding itself. Although Meidian and other wedding vases were privately purchased and/or commissioned, a public audience would have appreciated them. A variety of vessels was displayed to onlookers and guests in the public processions that preceded Athenian weddings. First there was the procession to fetch the water for the bride's nuptial bath from a public water source such as the Enneakrounos fountain in Athens (Thoukydides 2.15.5). This event—which is even illustrated on some

loutrophoroi and other vases—was “a conspicuous sign that a wedding was taking place” (Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 15). *Loutrophouroi* (bath carriers) were the vessels earmarked for this event (Menandros, *Samia* 729-730; Pollux 3.43; Harpokration s.v. Λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν; see also Mösch-Klinge, 2010), but images on vase paintings indicate that *hydriai* were also used for this purpose (for example, Eros dousing a crouching nude female on New York, MMA 1972.118.148, illustrated in Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 62, figs. 20-21). Friends and relatives were next entertained by the families of the bride and groom at the wedding feast, a traditional ritual in which the community participated (Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 22). The number of guests would of course vary, but the tendency for Classical Athenians to use the wedding feast for the sake of conspicuous consumption, and to welcome an exorbitant number of guests, is indicated by the enactment of sumptuary legislation aimed at limiting the number of guests to thirty (according to Lynkeios of Samos, recorded by Athenaios 6.254a; see also Alexiou, 1974: 14-23; Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 22). A variety of vessels would of course be used for the feast: a picture of preparations for the wedding feast, on a *lekanis* (container) lid attributed to the Eleusinian Painter, 360-350, prominently displays a *hydria*: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, St. 1791 (ARV² 1476.3; Add² 381; Para 496; BA 230433). The *anakalypteria* refers to the day on which the bride was ‘unveiled’ for the groom and the gifts—or *anakalypteria dora*—given to the bride on that day, amidst processions of women bearing the gifts, including vessels (Lewis, 2002: 193; Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 25-26). At nightfall, the bride's father seems to have given his daughter to the groom. This culminating moment, the *anakalypteron*, occasioned a gift from the groom to the bride, and preceded the main procession, in which the bride and groom were brought through the city streets to their new home at nightfall (Hesychios s.v. Ἀνακαλυπτῆριον; Ferrari, 2002: 186-190). It involved torches, songs, and dances, and was thus the most publicised aspect of the wedding. The bride herself carried household vessels in the procession, in order

to symbolise or advertise her domestic skills. According to Pollux, Solon even instructed brides to carry roasting pans (Pollux 1.246; see also 3.37). The Eretria Painter's *epinetron*, **VP 19** (**fig. 5.6**)—a vessel used in the preparation of wool—may have been symbolically carried by a bride in her wedding procession (Lezzi-Hafter, 1988: 253–254). Food containers might also have been used in the *katakhysmata*, the ritual pouring fruit and nuts over the couple when they finally reached their home (Smith, 2011: 3.2.1b). More gifts, including vases such as *pyxides* and *lekanides*, were also given by the bride's father to the bride and groom, in the *epaulia*, a procession the day after the wedding (Eustathios, *Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada* 24.29; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Epaulia*; and *Suda* s.v. *Ἐπαύλια*). The display of gifts was clearly emphasised both at the *anakalypteria dora* and during the *epaulia*. Personifications and other female figures are shown carrying these bridal vessels in scenes on 'wedding' vases. In these nuptial displays, as well as subsequent displays in the more public parts of the house, the gifts would have been viewed by friends, relatives, and neighbours, all of whom might have appreciated the civic overtones of the figures shown on them.

The public use of these vessels is not exclusive of their private nature. The vases were commissioned and/or purchased by private individuals, probably for eventual use in the home, although the public exposure of the vessels, to men and women alike, obviates the need to explain them as objects made only for use and appreciation by women in the *gynaikeion* (women's quarters). Many wedding vases were also dedicated by individuals at the Sanctuary of the Bride (Nympha), South of the Akropolis, perhaps after the wedding. In the case of gifts, it is likely that the purchaser, whether the father, groom, or a friend, might have intended to bestow on the married couple the personal and public qualities and benefits that the personifications represented. The images would reinforce social expectations, as they advertised the virtues that would create a happy marriage—Peitho (Persuasion), Harmonia (Harmony), and Eukleia (Good Reputation)—and

promise the benefits that might result from adherence to these values: Eudaimonia (Happiness), Eutykhia (Prosperity), Hygieia (Health), and Paidia (Play). The civic importance of weddings in Classical Athens departs slightly from the domestic and private character of weddings in Archaic Athens (Stansbury-O'Donnell, 2006: 193).

Just as the vessels bridged the realms of private and public life, so the personifications that decorated them would have alluded to the private and public (civic) lives of the people who used them. Harmonia, herself a mythical bride, for example, is the personification of Marriage and civic (as well as musical) Harmony. Apart from scenes of Kadmos' discovery of her at the spring in Thebes, Harmonia appears with personifications of other civic virtues in a variety of wedding scenes—preparations for her own wedding, on **VP 19** (**fig. 5.6**), and perhaps those of others, on **VP 44**, **45**, and **48**. The juxtaposition of civic virtues reinforces the civic role of Harmonia. Most of these personified virtues express a similar nuptial/civic duality, particularly when used together, in patriotic representations of local myths and legends. Political overtones are inferred, however, in the depictions of civic heroes, in the mythical birth on **VP 27** (**fig. 5.9**) and the inclusion of four of the ten eponymous tribal heroes of Athens—Antiokhos, Akamas, Hippothoon, and Oineus—on **VP 26** (**fig. 1.1**). Civic virtues are also relevant in depictions of the births of mortals (perhaps on **VP 17**, **fig. 5.8** and **5.18**) as well as heroes; procreation was another civic virtue that was important to Athenians and patronised by Aphrodite, Peitho, and Eukleia. "These are statements of Athenian pride, patriotism, and confidence in future generations of a city then so beleaguered by war" (Neils, 1983: 21). The encouragement of marriage for the purposes of childrearing, as shown on some of these vases in the circle of Aphrodite, would serve to better the city. Peitho and Eunomia, important contemporary political concepts, were also applicable to personal matters such as marriage. Hygieia, Eudaimonia, and Eukleia, virtues of a more general nature, were considered beneficial to individuals, *oikoi*, and the *polis*. Paidia, although not necessarily a virtue,

was also regarded as beneficial to individuals and to the city as a whole.

Aphrodite's double role as a civic protector and a patron of erotic love is emphasised through her association with civic virtues in nuptial imagery, and the significance of her attendants as both marital and civic virtues, reinforces these two spheres of involvement. "The identification of Aphrodite's companions as Kharites, or Kharites and Horai, explains the fact that some

seem to have 'speaking' names that refer to virtues, while others have pretty names suitable for the likes of Nereids and Nymphs" (Ferrari, 2002: 47). Although the goddess is never labeled with her epithet, Pandemos (perhaps the label would have been labouriously long), in her appearances amid these civic personifications, the allusion to her civic nature must have been obvious to the Athenians who had worshipped her as Aphrodite Pandemos from at least the sixth century.

CHAPTER SIX

ARISTOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY? EUKLEIA AND EUNOMIA BETWEEN THE GODS

Two of the most popular personifications in the vase paintings made during the Peloponnesian War (431-404) are Eukleia and Eunomia, the personifications of Good Repute and Good Order. The underlying concepts of *eukleia* and *eunomia* are closely related in meaning, so it is not surprising that they appear together on no less than nine Meidian vases (Borg, 2005, and 2002: 190-208). Were they even worshipped together? Pausanias (1.15.4) records that a temple to Eukleia was erected on the edge of the Athenian Agora as a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians who landed at Marathon (490). The evidence for Eukleia's presence at Athens is otherwise slim: Harrison's attempt to identify the Hephaisteion as the Temple of Eukleia (Harrison, 1977a: 139 n. 14) has not been widely accepted (Camp, 1986: 82). There is ample evidence for the concept and personification of Eunomia at Athens, on the other hand, although her cult is unattested there before the fourth century. Appearances of these two personifications together, especially in the circle of Aphrodite, on Attic vases dating exclusively to the last two decades of the fifth century, however, are taken by some to show that they may have received joint worship at Athens during that time, or even joined in cult with Apollo. I will first survey the identity and visual representations of each of these personifications separately, and then reassess their appearances together in art and cult.

Eukleia

Eukleia represents the personal qualities that brought a person a good reputation, as well as the reputation itself. Mythic genealogies for her

come late: Ploutarkhos (*Aristides* 20.5) mentions she was the child of Herakles and Myrto, but Euripides notes that Ponos (Labour) was her father (fr. 474 N²): this aitiology is itself a sort of personification. In earlier Greek literature, *eukleia*, ἡ εὐκλεία, refers to the glory and fame that results from military victories (Homer, *Ilias* 8.285 and *Odysseia* 14.402). *Eukleia*'s meaning as the good reputation of private individuals becomes more prominent in the literature of the second half of the fifth century, and is particularly prominent in the works of Euripides (for *eukleia* in *Hippolytos* see Braund, 1980: 84-85). She is personified in Classical Athenian literature to the degree that she owns, holds, or bestows a wreath or crown, as in Sophokles' *Aias* (462-465), produced in 442 or 441, when Aias bemoans his bad fortune:

And how shall I present myself and appear to the eye of my father, Telamon? How will he bear it when he sees me naked, without the prize of the best and the bravest, for which he himself held the great crown of Eukleia?

Sophokles' 'crown of Eukleia' (στέφανος εὐκλείας), also worn by Theseus (Euripides, *Hiketides* 315), is recalled in the words of Bakkhylides, who calls Eukleia' φιλοστεφάνος, 'lover of the wreath' (Bakkhylides, *Epinikoi* 13.183; see also Bakkhylides, *Epinikoi* 1.184 and *Dithyramboi* 15.54; and Pindaros, *Isthmionike* 5.22).

With or without a wreath, Eukleia could bestow a good reputation on someone, through birth and/or marriage, as well as victory. In regard to ancestry, *eukleia* therefore takes on aristocratic connotations (Metzler, 1980). She was involved in marriage preparations, at least in Boiotia, Athens' neighbour and long-term rival, where she was worshipped as an epithet of Artemis (Shapiro,

1993: 70-78; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988c). Ploutarkhos notes that Artemis Eukleia had an altar in each Boiotian marketplace (see also Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 161; Schachter, 1981: 102), and that boys and girls who had become engaged would make sacrifices to Eukleia in preparation for their weddings (Ploutarkhos, *Aristides* 20.5-6). In the same passage Ploutarkhos tells the story of a certain Eukhidas of Plataiai (in Boiotia) who, at the end of the Persian Wars, fetched the sacred flame from Delphoi and brought it home within the same day; although the feat killed him, Eukhidas was rewarded with burial in Artemis Eukleia's sanctuary. This is also when, according to Pausanias, a Temple to Eukleia was erected in the Athenian Agora (as noted above, Pausanias 1.15.4). Nilsson and others have supposed that this Eukleia was brought over to Athens from Boiotia, became detached from Artemis, and was thereafter worshipped independently at Athens (Nilsson, 1955: 494). After all, only Boiotian sources connect Artemis with Eukleia.

Despite her new Athenian temple, Eukleia is barely mentioned in fifth-century sources. The sophist Antiphon at least mentions *eukleia* in his discussion of marriage in *Peri homonoias*, so we might presume that she retained her special significance to engaged couples, as noted above. There are only two or three extant visual sources on which Eukleia appeared without Eunomia, but in each case the identifying label is lost or incomplete. On the Heimarmene Painter's name vase, **VP 16 (fig. 4.2)**, Eukleia may represent the good reputation that Helene is about to cast aside (as noted above, 45). Eukleia may also refer to Helene's reputation in an image of Helene's bridal bath, on a squat *lekythos* once in London, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, **VP 42 (fig. 5.4)**. Here Eukleia carries the wreath that is her defining attribute in literature (Sabetai, 1997: 320).

Eukleia's civic responsibilities may have extended to welcoming and sanctioning foreign cults. On a plate now in Leuven, attributed to the Meidias Painter, **VP 28 (fig. 5.14)**, Eukleia is probably the character who joins Eudaimonia in welcoming Asklepios (shown in the arms of Epidauros) to Athens. Eukleia is a most likely

candidate for the personification, labelled EY[...], who stands at the left: she would sanction the good reputation of a cult that was not previously in Athens (see 63-64, for the idea that this is Eutykhia paired with Eudaimonia). Similarly, she seems to welcome Eunomia on **VP 46 (fig. 6.1)** (Hampe, 1955: 113).

Eunomia

Eunomia is extremely popular in Greek literature (Rudhardt, 1999: 97-104; Ostwald, 1969: 62-65). Her earliest appearance is as one of the Horai (Seasons), along with Dike and Eirene, in Hesiodos' *Theogonia* (901-902). While several fifth century lyric poets followed this genealogy (Bakchylides 14.59; Pindaros, *Olympionike* 9.22-24, 13.6-8), in the sixth century, Alkmanos referred to Eunomia (along with Peitho and Tykhe) as the daughter of Promatheia (Forethought) (Alkmanos fr. 64 Davies, *PMGF*). The noun *eunomia*, ἡ εὐνομία, stems from the verb εὐνομέομαι, meaning to have good laws (LSJ⁹ s.v. εὐνομέομαι; Rosler 2005, 233-236). *Eunomia* refers not just to the condition of having good laws, but adherence to those laws. In Sophokles' *Aias*, for example, *eunomia* means loyalty to divine law (Sophokles, *Aias* 713; see also Homeros, *Odysseia* 487). In the seventh century, the elegiac poet Tyrtaios of Sparta connected this divine law with human law, when he eulogised *eunomia* as the divine right by which kings rule (Tyrtaios frs. 1-4 West, *IE*²). In a democratic *polis*, such as Athens, *eunomia* also refers to the citizen's obeisance to the laws (*nomos*), which creates good order (Ostwald, 1969: 62-65; Andrewes, 1938: 90). At the beginning of the sixth century, the Athenian statesman Solon (fr. 4.31-38 West, *IE*²) eulogised Eunomia as a civic virtue:

My soul calls on me to teach these things to the Athenians: that Disnomia (Lawlessness) brings countless evils to the city, while Eunomia makes all things appear well ordered and proper, and often locks up the feet of criminals. She softens the rough, shrinks excess, lessens pride, withers the budding flowers of sin, sets straight crooked

judgments, and soothes the actions of the arrogant. She shrinks the effects of discord and the troubling wrath of quarrel; it is through her that all affairs of men are proper and prudent.

Perhaps as a result of her Spartan roots, *eunomia* retained an aristocratic connotation at Athens. Pindaros invoked her as the guardian of Aitna (Pindaros, *Nemeionike* 9.29), Korinthos (*Olympionike* 13.6), Opos (*Olympionike* 9.16, where Eunomia Soteira [Saviour] is connected with Themis), and Aigina (*Isthmionike* 5.22), all cities in which oligarchic systems prevailed. The fifth century Athenian conception of aristocratic *eunomia* as the opposite of democratic *isonomia* (equality of rights: Raaflaub, 1996) may have also derived from Eunomia's monarchical Spartan background, through the influence of the pro-Spartan oligarchs at Athens (Ostwald, 1969: 65). Athenians knew that Tyrtaios' poems were recited to Spartan troops as late as the fourth century (Lykourgos, *Leokrates* 107). In an interesting twist, however, the Ionian cities rejected the Athenian oligarchs' offer of *eunomia* (in 411), in favour of Spartan *eleutheria* (freedom) (Thucydides 7.1.4). This use of *eunomia* certainly suggests that the concept was regarded as an oligarchic prerogative at the end of the fifth century (Grossmann, 1950: 30-89).

Yet the role of Eunomia as a virtue that gave rise to civic prosperity is equally applicable to monarchic and democratic *poleis*. This non-partisan virtue is invoked in the 7th-century *Hymnos Homerikos eis Gen* (30.11-15):

Such men with Eunomia command a city of beautiful women. Much prosperity and Ploutos (Wealth) accompany them; their sons bear themselves proudly with youthful joy; and their daughters, with cheerful hearts in blossoming dances, play and frisk over soft flowers.

In the early fifth century Bakkhylides said that Eunomia received Thaleia (Bounty) as her lot (Bakkhylides 13.186-187). Not surprisingly, it is this prosperous Eunomia who is found on Meidian vases. On a squat *lekythos*, once in Paris, **VP 43**, dated to the last decade of the fifth century, Eunomia is actually shown with Thaleia

(see chapter 3, 36-39, for the nymphs, Nereids, and heroines who claim this name). The hope for prosperity and other joys that come with good order is also reflected in Meidian vase paintings that picture Eunomia with Eudaimonia or Eutykhia (both of whom represent Prosperity) as well as Paidia (Play): a squat *lekythos* in Baltimore, attributed to the Makaria Painter, **VP 33**; a squat *lekythos* in London, **VP 40**; a lidded *pyxis* in London, **VP 48**; and a *pyxis* in New York, **VP 49** (fig. 5.11).¹ One might have expected Eunomia, who brings prosperity, to have been connected here with Eirene (Peace) and Opora (Harvest), personifications of (agricultural) prosperity in the circle of Dionysos. Hesiodos had joined Eunomia and Eirene together as Horai, along with Dike (Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 901-902). Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann even suggested that the popularity of Eunomia, on Meidian vases produced during the Peloponnesian War, was a sign of the longing for *eirene* (Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988d: 63). Eunomia and Eirene never appear together, however, in the last quarter of the fifth century (except perhaps on an altar from Brauron, **R 2**, to be discussed in chapter 7, 77-78). In the fourth century, however, Eunomia and Dike shared an altar with Aidos (Reverence) (Pseudo-Demosthenes 25.35). The law court speech that mentions this altar emphasises Eunomia's importance to the *polis*: "You must magnify Eunomia who loves what is right and preserves every city and every land" (Pseudo-Demosthenes 25.10-11). This speech is, in fact, the earliest evidence for the cult of Eunomia at Athens.

¹ The long-standing misreading of "Eunomia" on **VP 49** (fig. 5.11) as "Aponia", which has recently been corrected and confirmed by Richard Stone, Conservator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, at the instigation of Gloria Ferrari (2002, 28) is, however, upheld by Rachel Rosenzweig (2004, 25), who also overcautiously identifies the figure with the necklace as Daimonia (who is otherwise unknown).

A joint cult of Eukleia and Eunomia at Athens?

As I noted above, Eukleia and Eunomia appear together, among other personifications, on no less than eight vases dating to the last two decades of the fifth century: **VP 28** (fig. 5.14), **39** (fig. 6.2), **42** (fig. 5.4), **45**, **46** (fig. 6.1), **47** (fig. 9.15), **49** (fig. 5.7), and **51**. Ines Jucker has interpreted the unlabelled seated figure on **VP 17** (fig. 5.18) also as Eukleia on the basis of her cult association with Eunomia (Jucker, 1973: 67), whereas Ute Kron identified her as Herse, mother of Kephalos, on the incorrect assumption that the boy was the Attic hero Kephalos, rather than Kephimos (Kron, 1981: 291 s.v. Aglauros no. 36). On the basis of images on which they surround Aphrodite—**VP 42**, **45**, and **49**—Eukleia and Eunomia may be counted among the virtues associated with of Aphrodite Pandemos. Since the time of Solon there was a connection between Eunomia and Aphrodite, as suggested in Athenaios' commentary on Solon's Eunomia (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 13.569d-570a; see Lewis, 2006, 42-59). Xenophanes of Kolophon, a poetic successor of Solon, also expressed the civic ideal of Eunomia (21 B2.9 DK). There is no further evidence, however, that connects Eunomia and Eukleia in cult with Aphrodite. Their cultic union, moreover, is not attested until the 4th-century *Athenaion Politeia* (42.2), which mentions the *kosmetes* (decorators) who were responsible to the priests of Eukleia and Eunomia. An assortment of later Attic inscriptions mention priests (*IG* II² 4874), even a priest's seat in the Theatre of Dionysos (*IG* II² 5059; see Maass, 1972: 127, pl. 15), and the joint sanctuary of Eunomia and Eukleia (*IG* II² 2776, 3738, and 4193). As these inscriptions are all of a Roman date, however, we are left wondering when and why these two cult personifications combined forces? Roland Hampe suggests that the post-Persian cult of Eukleia (whose votive temple is mentioned in Pausanias 1.15.4) might have come to Athens from neighbouring Aigina, rather than Boiotia (Hampe, 1955). He proposes that the occasion for this transference was

Aigina's forcible incorporation into the Athenian Empire in 458/7. Hampe's evidence for Eukleia's cult at Aigina is, however, limited to Bakkhylides' poetic personification of these virtues, in *Epinikoi* 13.183 (c. 481), where he cites Eukleia, Eunomia, and Arete (Goodness; see also chapter 11, 123-124) as the guardians of Aigina. Nevertheless, Hampe goes on to propose that the cult of Eunomia would have followed and joined Eukleia's Athenian cult in the later fifth century. He thought the Mainz *lekanis* lid showed Eukleia welcoming Eunomia to Athens, **VP 46** (fig. 6.1) (Hampe, 1955: 123), as also on **VP 45** and **47** (fig. 9.15). The generic nature of the decoration on such lids warns us that this reading might be too specific, despite Elke Böhr's good supporting point that the bird that Eunomia holds—a nightingale—is a symbol of welcoming into society (CVA Mainz University 2 [1993] 45; see also Ailianos, *Peri zoon* 5.38). Why then isn't the bird found in the hand of Eukleia, who is supposed to be issuing the welcome?

Might Eukleia and Eunomia have been worshipped together with Artemis' brother, Apollon, at Athens, as first suggested by Karl Schefold (1937: 63)? They appear with him on an *oinokhoe*, 410-400, in Budapest, **VP 39** (fig. 6.2). A comparable image of Apollon standing between two muses is found on a *pelike* attributed to the Kassel Painter, Athens, NM 1467 (ARV² 1084.18; BA 214559). Eukleia and Eunomia appear together in a similar scene, but without Apollon, on an acorn *lekythos* in Berlin, attributed to the Painter of the Frankfurt Acorn, **VP 36** (fig. 6.3). Irma Wehgartner suggested that Eukleia and Eunomia here serve as a warning against excess, and are thereby the upholders of Apollonian moderation (Wehgartner, 1987: 196). But their one appearance with Apollon is hardly enough to surmise that Eukleia and Eunomia shared a cult with him. No written sources connect Eukleia with Apollon. Other visual connections are tenuous. On the white-ground squat *lekythos* in Kansas City, **VP 17** (fig. 5.18), for example, Eunomia stands next to (Apollon's?) laurel tree (Shapiro, 1993: 82). On a *lekanis* lid in Ullastret, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, **VP 47** (fig. 9.15),

Artemis' favourite animal, a deer, stands alongside Eukleia (Pericay, 1974: 171). I would suggest rather that Eukleia and Eunomia might here be Apollon's 'iconographic attributes,' to borrow a term from Rachel Rosenzweig (2004: 24). In an allegorical sense this image suggests either that the worship of Apollon, the god of law, brings good laws and a good reputation to the *polis* or alternatively that the god himself brings good laws, and through them a good reputation, to the *polis* (Eunomia is also logically connected with Apollon because the *nomos*—ὁ νόμος, law and music—at the root of her name belongs to his spheres of influence). Timotheos of Miletos' *Persai*, delivered at Athens after 408, is a prayer to Apollon to send Eirene and Eunomia to relieve the populace (of Athens?) (Timotheos, *Persai* fr. 791.240 Page, *PMG*).

Although the aristocratic overtones of the two concepts are enhanced by their joint association, the generalised, non-partisan meanings of Eukleia and Eunomia suffice to account for their interconnection and their inclusion in the circle of Aphrodite (Pandemos) on Meidian vases. They are particularly appropriate on wedding vases. Eukleia personified an important personal virtue *vis-à-vis* the community, namely one's good reputation, or how one is regarded by others. She was invoked, and perhaps supplicated as a goddess in her own right (and earlier as an aspect of Artemis) on occasions such as engagements and weddings, when one's reputation was most at stake. Eunomia is a virtue of both personal and civic importance that refers to the lawfulness of individuals, and the well ordered *polis* that results when individuals endowed with *eukleia* obey the laws, regardless of the political structure. By the mid-fourth century *eunomia* was the property of the free and equal constitution, the protector of lands and cities and—like *eirene*—an objective of all Greeks after the Peloponnesian War (Aiskhines, *Kata Timarkhou* 5.31). This is how several fourth century authors—Pseudo-Demosthenes 25.11; Aristoteles, *Politika* 1280b6, 1294a3-4, 1307a1, 1326a30, 1327a14-15—describe *eunomia*.

A partisan motivation for the frequent depiction of Eunomia, Eukleia, and other political

personifications, however, has been brought into question by several scholars (Guarducci, 1933, 1938, 1939: 58-61; Hampe, 1955; Metzler, 1980). It is in one workshop—that of the Meidias Painter—that images of Aphrodite and her attendant personifications, including Eukleia and Eunomia, are most popular. These personifications also appear in the repertoire of the Eretria Painter, perhaps not surprisingly, as scholars have linked the careers of the Eretria and Meidias Painters on stylistic grounds (Burn, 1987: 11-12, 90-92). Unlike the Meidian artists, however, the Eretria Painter used the names of personifications for characters in non-political scenes: Arete and Eunomia, for example, uniquely as Nereids on **VP 18**. One might wonder then if the Meidias Painter and his associates had a partisan reason for communicating politics through personifications of civic virtues. This circle of painters illustrated not only personifications of civic virtues, but also tales concerning the legendary, aristocratic kings of Athens: **VP 26** (fig. 1.1), **29** (fig. 8.1), and **31**. Note especially Basileia (Sovereignty) and Soteria (Salvation) on **VP 31**, a vase that shows two such legends: the birth of Erichthonios, on the lid, and the punishment of the Kekropids, on the body.

Did the Meidian artists side with Athens' aristocrats? Eirene—a favourite of the aristocrats—is completely excluded from the circle of Aphrodite and from Meidian iconography, while Peitho—a democratic ideal in previous times (Buxton, 1985)—is among the Meidian favourites. Even Peitho, however, associated with the Spartan oligarchy in the fourth century (Xenophon, *Kyropaideia* 2.3.19 and 3.3.8 uses *peitho* to mean obedience). Lucilla Burn suggested that, at best, Meidian painters were "hedging their bets" (Burn, 1987: 39). As it is, the nature of the evidence prohibits us from confidently ascribing political motives to these nameless individuals, despite Dietrich Metzler's convincing argument that there was an aristocratic influence in the Kerameikos, the potter's quarter (Metzler, 1980). The partisan interpretation of a particular personification would not require us to believe in partisan leanings on behalf of the entire

workshop of painters, let alone the virtues they painted. Politicians normally adopt virtues of a general nature and adapt them to their own partisan purposes. 'Family values' in America have been bandied about by both Republicans and Democrats for so long, for example, that the phrase is now meaningless. Similarly, Athenian civic virtues

such as *Eunomia*, *Eukleia*, and *Peitho* would have had widespread appeal, whether or not they were adopted as partisan ideals and regardless of any connection with *Aphrodite Pandemos*. Any artist's illustration of these virtues cannot therefore be construed as a partisan statement, although it may have been a political act.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VISUAL PERSONIFICATIONS IN LITERATURE AND ART: ARISTOPHANES' EIRENE AND HER ATTENDANTS

There is a natural connection between Eirene (Peace) and Opora (Harvest, Autumn), two personifications found exclusively in the circle of Dionysos on Attic vases also from the period of the Peloponnesian War (431-404). Eirene was earlier known as one of the Horai (Seasons), presumably the autumn season in which everyone was freed from military duties and devoted their attentions to reaping the ripened crops (Simon, 1986: 700). *Opora* (ἡ ὀπώρα), which suggests the ripened fruit (as in epic, e.g. Homeros, *Ilias* 22.27, and *Odysseia* 11.192 and 24.343-344) as well as the time at which the fruit becomes ready for harvest, must be the same general season (LSJ⁹ s.v. ὀπώρα). In a Dionysiac vein, Stafford restricts *opora* to the grape harvest, which she places in late summer (2000: 187). Michael Silk likewise translates *Opora* as "Summer" (Silk, 2000: 130 n. 74). *Erosora*, whose name means perhaps Autumn (Weiss, 1988) appears rather on **VP 25**. In deciding whether to translate *Opora* as Summer or Autumn we are mediating between the three- and four-season view of the calendar. Yet *Opora* is highly relevant to the abstract, political meaning of *eirene* (ἡ εἰρήνη) as the crops could not come to fruition in times of war. This was one of the greatest problems for the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War: from its beginning (431/430), Spartan forces repeatedly ravaged the Athenian countryside and crops (Thoukydides 2.19, *passim*). Because of the Spartan assaults, *Opora* was absent during most of the Peloponnesian War, and one might surmise that she would only arrive when Eirene was present. Aristophanes made this connection in *Eirene* (produced in 421). In this play, *Opora* and *Theoria* (Spectacle, particularly Festival Embassy) attend Eirene, who had been buried by

Polemos (War) and eventually recovered by the farmer *Trygaios* (Aristophanes, *Eirene* 520-526). *Theoria*, as another peacetime activity (thus Silk's translation of Aristophanes' *Theoria* as "Holiday" [Silk, 2000: 240], following Olson ed., 1998 and Henderson, 1998: 495) is highly relevant in the context of Eirene (as also on **R 2**, **fig. 7.1**).

Fifth century poets followed the genealogy by which Eirene, Eunomia, and Dike (Justice) were the Horai, daughters of Themis (*contra* Hesiodos and followers, discussed in chapters 1, 4 and 6: 6, 46, and 72). An unattributed poetic fragment (fr. 1018b.6-8 Page, *PMG*) connects the three with the city, while in the *Persai*, as noted above, Timotheos of Miletos prays for Apollon to send Eirene and Eunomia to relieve the populace (of Athens?). Eirene's role as one of the Seasons is virtually ignored in the visual arts of fifth century Athens (Scheibler, 1984: 39-57; Simon, 1988). Simon suggests, however, that if Themis is the seated woman surrounded by three dancing women on the East frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike (after 421), then the dancers might be her daughters, the Horai—Dike, Eirene, and Eunomia (Simon, 1986: 703-704 s.v. Eirene no. 9; Pemberton, 1972: 309 suggests rather that they are the Muses). The fragmentary state of these figures compounded by the absence of comparable representations of this group in Athenian art, however, makes this identification tenuous. Pausanias tells us of a group of statues dedicated in the Heraion at Olympia, however, which showed Themis with the Horai and Moirai (Pausanias 5.17.1-4; Shapiro, 1993: 216-217, 263 no. 142). A fragmentary altar at Brauron, **R 2**, dating to the early fourth century (Boardman, 1995: 16), may show Eunomia (rather than *Theoria*, as discussed above, 73) together with Eirene in a Dionysiac

procession (**fig. 7.1**). It is tempting to connect this image with epigraphic sources that mention Dionysos leading the Horai in dance elsewhere, for example, at Paros (*IG* XII 5.445; see also *IG* II/III² 4877) and other historical sources that associate Dionysos Orthos with the Horai and the nymphs (Philokhoros 328 F 5b *FGrH*; see Larson, 2001: 128-129). Neither the extant inscriptions nor the reconstruction of the altar, however, allow room for Dike and Themis.

Eirene

A mature Eirene receives worship as early as the fourth century (as I will discuss in chapter 10, 110) yet the evidence for her fifth-century cult is inferential. Her companions in later fifth-century comedies, especially Opora and Georgia (Agriculture), however, suggest her role as a fertility deity (fr. 294 KA [from another play named *Eirene*] actually names Georgia as her sister). She is certainly worshipped as such by Aristophanes' farmers (in *Akharneis* 26 and *Eirene* 360) and may have been worshipped by actual Athenians, at the *Dionysia* (festival to Dionysos). Even Euripides envisioned her as a civic goddess, in an ode from *Kresphontes* (fr. 453 N²), probably produced between 430 and 424:

Very wealthy Eirene, most beautiful of the blessed gods, I long for you, for you tarry. I am afraid that old age may overcome me with toil before I behold your charming youth, and your songs with their beautiful dances, and your crown-loving revels. Come to my city, mistress, but keep hateful Stasis [Dissention] away from the house, and mad Eris [Strife], who delights in the sharpened sword.

Aristophanes parodied the beginning of this ode in *Georgoi* (fr. 111 KA), probably produced in 424 (Harder, 1985: 3). Euripides connects Eirene with the success of cities in another ode to Eirene, *Herakles* 371-380 and, at the end of a later play, *Orestes* (produced in 408), Apollon orders Orestes, Menelaos, and the others to "go on your way now, honouring the most beautiful goddess, Eirene" (Euripides, *Orestes* 1682-1683).

Although a scholiast comments on these lines as a reference to the ongoing Peloponnesian War, in which the Athenians had not persuaded the Spartans to make peace (Sch. Euripides, *Orestes* 1682-1683), the words of Euripides and Aristophanes cannot be taken as evidence that Eirene had achieved cult status at this time. They are, however, strong indications that some Athenians already revered her.

Eirene is only represented twice on fifth-century vases. In both instances, as on the Brauron altar, **R 2** (**fig. 7.1**), she is one of the maenads who follow Dionysos (Smith, 2005a: 218-222). She appears on a calyx krater in Vienna, **VP 22** (**fig. 7.2**), attributed to the Dinos Painter (420-410). In this scene Eirene exchanges glances with a satyr named Hedyoinos (Sweet Wine), and offers him a drink from a rhyton. This image, which recalls Aristophanes' characterisation of *eirene* as a bottle of wine in *Akharneis* (1052), produced in 425, may have been painted shortly after the production of Aristophanes' *Eirene* and the peace of Nikias (421). Eirene and Dionysos, who is seated in the centre, turn their backs on each other; this may reflect the Athenian complaint that the gods had abandoned the Greeks' prayers for peace (e.g. Aristophanes, *Eirene* 207-209). When the Athenians renewed their optimism (in vain) a decade later (410-400), however, Eirene and Dionysos come together as lovers, on a *pelike* once in Paris, attributed to the Group of Naples 3235, **VP 35** (**fig. 7.3**). This image corresponds to Euripides' latest and most cheerful representation of Eirene, in *Bakkhai* (produced in 406): "He [Dionysos] loves the goddess Eirene, generous of good, preserver of the young" (419-420). It also suggests Eirene's maternal instincts, to which Euripides alludes in *Hiketides*: "Eirene...delights in good children and rejoices in Ploutos (Wealth)" (490). Both references clearly foreshadow the *kourotrophos* image of Eirene that reappears in fourth-century arts.

We should not be surprised to find little of Eirene in the arts of Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Many Athenians were hopeful that they could win the war, rather than submit to an equivocal peace. The prevailing democratic ideal

was *eleutheria* (ἡ ἐλευθερία) or freedom, which entailed liberty to participate in the democracy and to live as one pleased; neither of these goals was guaranteed by peace. The demagogues of Athens repeatedly opposed Spartan overtures to peace throughout the Peloponnesian War: Kleon after Pylos in 425 (Thoukydides 4.21.3-22.2); Hyperbolos with regard to the peace of Nikias in 421 (*IG I³* 82.5, 85.6); and Kleophon after Kyzikos in 410 (Philokhoros 328 F 139 *FGrH*; Diodoros of Sicily 13.53.1-2) as well as Arginousai in 406/5 (Thoukydides 8.91.3).

Although the oligarchs favoured peace in 411—when they preferred it to a democratic overthrow of the rule of the Four Hundred—Eirene was not presented as an aristocratic virtue in the arts of fifth-century Athens. Aristophanes presents Eirene as a favourite of the rural farmers, the traditional democrats, who long for the harvest (*opora*) that she might bring. Interpretation of Aristophanes' portrayal of the farmers, let alone their enthusiasm for peace, is a subjective matter. According to Victor Hanson (1995: 216):

In Aristophanes' view, the farmers of Attika represented a pristine lifestyle that was inherently ennobling, one derived from the early days of the Greek polis, now under assault at Athens from growing urbanization, overseas imperialism, and welfare radical democracy.

Aristophanes was not reporting fact but rather caricaturing social types, for comic effect. His political views are thus indeterminate and at best variable (Henderson, 1990: 271-313; Bremer, 1993; Heath, 1997; Silk, 2000: 302, *passim*). Scholars have long struggled with determining Aristophanes' political principles, e.g. his opposition to the demagogue, Kleon, expressed in *Hippeis* (425) and Kleon's legal recourse, which suggests that Aristophanes was an aristocrat (Forrest, 1975a: 17-18; Atkinson, 1992 [on Kleon]). A democratic Aristophanes might have been sympathetic towards the traditional, agricultural democrats; an aristocratic Aristophanes would have been selling the concept of peace to the democratic farmers. Balot is probably right to see Aristophanes' role as mediating between the contrasting poles of pacifism and imperialism (Balot, 2006: 175). The

visual evidence for Eirene's partisan political role is similarly inconclusive. As I mentioned in chapter 6, 75, if Aphrodite's entourage of civic personifications represented aristocratic virtues, as has been suggested particularly in the case of Eunomia and Eukleia, we should have then expected Eirene to have joined them. Eirene's complete exclusion from Aphrodite's circle could then bolster an argument for Eirene's role as a democratic prerogative. The fact that Eirene is personified in the oeuvres of only a few Athenian writers in this period, and as few vase painters, might suggest rather that this political ideal was not especially significant to the Athenians at the end of the fifth century, except as an occasional hope for future happiness and prosperity. Yet Aristophanes and Euripides together represent a large portion of the surviving poetry of the time. Still, Eirene was an international concern, perhaps distant from and irrelevant to the *oikos*, let alone weddings. She is certainly political in 5th century Athens but perhaps not yet a civic virtue.

Eirene temporarily disappears from extant sources after 400: the agreements made at the end of the Peloponnesian War brought neither a lasting peace to the Greeks nor immediate hope for peace. As noted above, however, Euripides' last words on Eirene, "...generous of good, preserver of the young" (discussed above, 73), foreshadow her return after 375. By that time she shed her maenadic ways and matured into the mother (or nurse) of agricultural wealth, as we will see in chapter 9.

Opora and Theoria

Opora is Eirene's primary attendant on the late fifth century vases, as in Aristophanes' plays. She emphasises the agricultural link between Eirene and Dionysos. Her political nature may then be inferred through her association with Eirene. She is not personified in preserved literature until Aristophanes' *Eirene* (see also Aristophanes fr. 581 KA). Opora is only labeled three or four times in Classical Athenian art, where she always appears as a maenad attending Dionysos

(Smith, 2005a: 221-222). It is likely that she is represented, although not labeled, in many other Dionysiac scenes in Attic art, as well as on South Italian vases (Weiss, 1994a: 55-58). Attic examples include a bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter, 420-410, in Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11.052 (L 222) where she must be the figure bearing fruit, who attends Dionysos (ARV² 1188.4; *Add²* 341; BA 215738). Her first labeled appearance in visual arts, on a volute krater in Ruvo, attributed to the Kadmos Painter, **VP 21** (fig. 5.13), is dated to the 420s, the same decade in which Aristophanes' *Opora* first appeared. On this vase *Opora* emerges from behind a hill carrying a platter or tray of fruits and a libation *oinokhoe*, presumably to the god Dionysos, patron of wine and vineyards, who reclines on his couch. *Opora*'s bountiful platter becomes her standard attribute, with which we may identify her on later vases. Her second attribute on this vase, an *oinokhoe*, or wine jug, is equally powerful as an indication of the fruitful grape harvest. *Opora*'s other labeled appearances on vases date from the 410s. On both of them—the calyx krater in Vienna attributed to the Dinos Painter, **VP 22**, and a *skyphos* in Basel, possibly by the Meidias Painter, **VP 30**, she offers her harvest to Dionysos. She holds the fruit-filled plate on **VP 22** (fig. 7.2) and perhaps on other vases by the Dinos Painter, such as his name vase, Berlin Museums, F 2402 (ARV² 1152.3; *Add²* 336; BA 215255). She only holds a shallow bowl or *phiale* on **VP 30**. *Eirene* is not present at *Opora*'s first appearance, on **VP 21** (fig. 5.10), but she is shown on the periphery of the scene on **VP 22** (fig. 7.2). As only a few fragments of the large Meidian *skyphos*, **VP 30**, are preserved it is conceivable that *Eirene* was also present in that scene.

Theoria (θεωρία) is a multifaceted word, derived from the verb θεωρέω, to look at or behold (LSJ⁹ s.v. θεωρέω). *Theoria* may have been personified first in 435, in a (fragmentary) comedy by Kallias, named *Grammatiki Theoria* (Spectacle of Letters) (Ruijgh, 2001). In the religious context pertaining to Classical Athens, however, *theoria* takes on a specific connotation of journeys (pilgrimages) of sacred delegations to and from sanctuaries

(Rutherford, 2002; Nightingale, 2004). *Theoria* may refer in turn to spectacular festivals, such as those that might be supported, e.g., by Athens' theoric fund; to the act of watching such a festival/show (as in Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 44 or Lysias 6.5); or perhaps even to the objects associated with such embassies or festivals. This is the politico-religious context to which Aristophanes clearly alludes in his *Eirene*, where *Theoria*, along with *Opora*, is an attendant to the goddess *Eirene*. Dina Peppas Delmousoy goes farther, however, in suggesting that, in Trygaios' reference to *Theoria* later in the same play (on l. 874), Aristophanes alludes to a penteteric festival that included a procession from Athens to Delos via Brauron in the time of Peisistratos and his sons (second half of the 6th century) (Peppas Delmousoy, 1988: 255-257; see also Photios s.v. Βραυρωνία). As she associates this penteteric festival with Artemis, not Dionysos, however, Peppas Delmousoy seems unaware of the round altar found at Brauron, **R 2**, that is coincidentally the best evidence for a personified *Theoria* in visual arts (fig. 7.1) (Smith, 2009); for plural *Theoriai*, however, see **VP 57** in chapter 8, 87 (fig. 8.7). Could this altar have commemorated a Brauronian festival with imagery derived from past festivals? The state of preservation of the figures on this altar is insufficient to warrant any speculation as to the appearances of *Eirene*'s companions, but two of their labels might be restored to [ΘΕΩΡ]ΙΑ and [ΟΠ]Ω[ΡΑ], *Theoria* and *Opora* (Fuchs and Vikelas, 1985: 41-48). The identification of the *Theoria* figure as *Eunomia* (Simon, 1988: 59) is less likely, given the presence of Dionysos. Fuchs and Vikelas also mentioned another label, ΑΗΤΩ (which I could not find), in an unspecified position. If the *Theoria* and *Opora* identifications are valid, this altar would then be the only known instance in Attic visual arts in which *Eirene* was united with both of her Aristophanic companions, appropriately in a Dionysiac procession (Smith, 2005a: 221-222). *Theoria* certainly suits the sacred context of the altar. She is also political insofar as she is relevant to democratic institutions (Goldhill, 2000: 172). As the personification of official embassies to

sanctuaries for oracles or festivals—trips outside the borders of Athens—or shows and spectacles associated with religious practice, Theoria—like Opora—represents an aspect of life of which Athenians were deprived during wartime. On VP 21, Opora seems to be doing double duty, holding Opora's bountiful plate and a libation *oinokhoe* that Theoria might use for sacrifices at festivals (fig. 5.13).

The benefits of Peace

Eirene was excluded from the circle of Aphrodite but she and the benefits that she might bring to the populace—especially Opora, Paidia (Play), and Eudaimonia (Happiness, Prosperity)—were personified and therefore popularised by artists, as well as poets in 5th-century Athens (see the discussion in chapter 5, 62-66, of Paidia and Eudaimonia). Eirene, Opora, and Eudaimonia—expressions of agricultural prosperity—are naturally pictured as maenads in the entourage of Dionysos, the god of fertility. Athenians honoured Dionysos at a range of local and civic fes-

tivals that spanned at least one-third of the year. Drinking and other vessels painted with images of Dionysos and his companions, such as those discussed in this chapter, would have found a public audience at these festivals. As with the wedding vessels, then, the issue of who owned and purchased the vases and their paintings does not properly address their public audience and function. The personifications that decorated these vessels promised salvation and agricultural prosperity that appealed directly to the needs of Athenian individuals, especially farmers, who were literally starved for peace. Eirene (Peace) would lead to Opora (Harvest), and therefore to prosperity, as well as to the day-to-day pleasures of Paidia (Amusement) and festivals associated with Theoria. Although they are not shown together with Eirene in the art of Classical Athens, these subsidiary gifts that Eirene might give to Athens through festivals—*pompe* (procession), *pannykhis* (night revel), and *pandaisia* (banquet)—were also personified in Attic arts at the turn of the century. They belong to a large group of seemingly spontaneous personifications that I will address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EPHEMERAL PERSONIFICATIONS: CIVIC FESTIVALS AND OTHER PEACETIME PLEASURES

Fifth-century Athens, which had no professional government and where the subjective view of life was pervasively institutionalized (most spectacularly in festivals), requires a different definition of 'civic,' a definition in which religion and art are weighed in as the potent ingredients that they in fact were.

Jeffrey Henderson (1993: 316-317)

In the late fifth and early fourth centuries, Athenian artists personified many entities that were neither worshipped nor even known in literary arts. Gloria Ferrari contrasts these 'puzzling' personifications with what she calls 'plausible' personifications—Peitho, Eunomia, Eukleia, and Eudaimonia—perhaps the Kharites (Ferrari, 2002: 46). These spontaneous personifications may have only been pictured once or twice, but they still meant something to the artists who created them and to the gods, if not the human customers and viewers. Yet the artists' exploitation of these personifications would not have succeeded had the concept of personification not been clear or intelligible to their audience. As a result of their absence from the literary/historical record, and the relative dearth of labels, few are intelligible to the modern viewer. Like most personifications, however, these ephemeral personifications are attributes to the characters with whom they appear. Their identities and purposes might therefore be discovered through a close reading of the images in which they played parts. Whereas most civic personifications discussed so far represented abstract concepts, only two of these ephemeral personifications—Basileia and Soteria—represent abstract political concepts. Others are concerned with festivals at Athens and at other Panhellenic sanctuaries. In including festivals in this study, I agree explicitly with Pauline Schmitt-Pantel's

assertion that such shared activities functioned as civic institutions (Schmitt-Pantel, 1990: 201).

Basileia and Soteria

Basileia (Kingdom, Sovereignty, or Monarchy) and Soteria (Salvation) were personified only once each in the visual arts of late fifth century Athens. These political ideas appear as female figures on the same Meidian vase, a lidded *pyxis* in Athens, **VP 31**. Basileia is also personified in Aristophanes' *Ornithes* (produced in 414), according to an ancient scholiast (Sch. Aristophanes, *Ornithes* 1536). This Basileia offers numerous gifts, *eunomia* included among them. She is the companion of Zeus, the guardian of his treasury, and the promised wife of Peisthetairos, the hero who threatened the gods by depriving them of sacrifices. Aristophanes' Basileia, however, seems irrelevant to the stories 'told' on the *pyxis*. The painter of this vase—perhaps the Meidias Painter—seems to have created these personifications *ad hoc* to suit the myths shown: Basileia at the punishment of the daughters of King Kekrops (on the body), and Soteria at the birth of Erikhthonios (on the lid). The two stories are related. Erikhthonios was born from the union of Ge and Hephaistos (Apollodoros 3.14.5-6): Hephaistos had pursued the virgin goddess, Athena, but when she spurned his advances his seed landed on Ge (Earth). At Erikhthonios' birth, Ge, his birth mother, gave him to Athena, his foster mother, as shown on **VP 29** (**fig. 8.1**). According to Pausanias, Athens temporarily fell to a string of tyrants because King Kekrops' male heir, Erysikhthon, predeceased

him (Pausanias 1.2.6). But Erikhthonios grew up and defeated those tyrants. He was therefore the salvation (*soteria*) of Athens because he established a lasting patriarchal monarchy (*basileia*). Robert Parker has suggested that the snake associated with Erikhthonios normally represents the *soteria* of the city (Parker, 1987: 196). Apart from this *pyxis*, however, there is no known connection of Basileia or Soteria with cults at Athens, any particular deities, or other personifications. Some scholars have conflated Basileia with Basile, an Athenian cult figure in her own right (Shapiro, 1993: 37-38, following Burn, 1989: 67 n. 21, *contra* Shapiro, 1986b: 134-136), who is attested on one or more document reliefs (Meyer, 1989: 267 no. A7, 417-418 and perhaps also **DR 42**, discussed in chapter 9, 100). Yet Basile and Basileia are not identical: Basile is not a personification for she does not bear the name of the abstraction that she might represent. Soteria may have received worship at Aigai, in Akhaia (Pausanias 7.24.3) and is later personified on late Roman mosaics at Antiokheia (Downey, 1938: 359), but not worshipped or personified again at Athens.

While *basileia*, ἡ βασιλεία, with its monarchic connotations, would have been unpopular among democrats during the Peloponnesian War, one might have expected *soteria* (ἡ σωτηρία) to be popular throughout the Classical period, as salvation and deliverance were what the city most needed (Parker, 1987: 196; Kearns, 1989: 324 [*soteria*]).

Pompe and Athenian festivals

Attic painters personified aspects of festivals, of which Pompe (Procession) on **VP 15** (**fig. 8.2**), seems to be the earliest, dating to the 420s. As religion was sanctioned by the state, aspects of these religious festivals are legitimately political in nature (Sourvinou-Inwood, 2000: 27). Festivals were civic gatherings of the *demos* (although some were restricted by gender, *phyle*, or *deme*), and the sheer fact of their happening was a mark of civic harmony and

prosperity. In this chapter I will discuss personifications of some of the important public aspects of festivals: Pandaisia (Banquet), Pannychis (Night Revel), as well as Pompe. I will then consider a unique vase that may personify the festivals or spectacles themselves, as well as the months according to which they were organised, **VP 57** (**fig. 8.7**). Finally, I will consider Attic personifications of the important Panhellenic festivals—Pythias (at Delphoi) and Olympias (at Olympia), and perhaps Nemea (the local personification of Nemea that stood for the festival games that took place at that Panhellenic centre).

Pandaisia (Banquet) and Pannychis (Night Revel) are both found on the Meidian *hydria* in Florence that shows the wedding of Aphrodite and Adonis, **VP 24** (**fig. 8.3**). Here they join Eutykhia, Hygieia, and Paidia (**figs. 5.1, 5.11**)—beneficent civic personifications that are familiar to us from Meidian ‘wedding’ vases. Their inclusion here implies that the event depicted is the “complete banquet at which no one and nothing fails” (LSJ⁹ *s.v.* πανδαισία). The night festival was an important part of the typical Attic wedding (see Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 22-24 for the public events that took place after nightfall), as of the mythical wedding of Aphrodite and Adonis (Bravo, 1997). Whereas Adonis appears elsewhere with other personifications, notably on **VP 36** (**fig. 6.3**), where he is clearly labeled (*contra* ARV² 1317.2), there is only one other known appearance of Pandaisia, on **VP 37**, a squat *lekythos* in London, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, where she again appears with Hygieia, as well as Eudaimonia (**fig. 5.12**). This scene almost certainly refers to a wedding, in which the youth Polykles, shown to the right, was probably the groom. His role has been variously interpreted (Burn, 1987: 33, 101 P 1, pl. 20c-d): does Polykles represent a mortal (dead or alive) or hero in this garden scene? The allusions to the Banquet (Pandaisia) on top of the wishes for Health (Hygieia) and Happiness (Eudaimonia) strongly imply wedding associations. Perhaps Polykles gave this cosmetic container as a gift to his bride so that she could

fondly contemplate her fiancée, just as engaged couples in more recent times would exchange lockets with pictures of each other. Pherekydes of Syros suggests that the groom gave a gift to the bride on the occasion of the *engye* (engagement) (7 [B]2 DK).

While *pannykhis* was not exclusive to weddings—an important *pannykhis*, for example, was celebrated at Athens as part of the Panathenaia (festival to Athena)—Pannykhis, the personification, is found in weddings scenes on Attic vases. She is included in Aphrodite's entourage on other Meidian vases dating to the last two decades of the fifth century: the other Florence *hydria*, VP 25 (fig. 5.2), and a *lekanis* lid in Naples, VP 45. She has a good vantage point in the top left of VP 25, next to Aphrodite's chariot, which races above the seated couple, Demonassa and Phaon. As on VP 24 (figs. 5.1 and 5.11) Hygieia and Eudaimonia emphasise the nuptials, while Pannykhis reminds us of the nighttime parties, both public and private, that accompany the wedding. On VP 45, which was probably a wedding gift, Pannykhis stands in front of, and partially obscures, a stool on which the bride might sit; note similar images of brides on stools on scenes A (fig. 5.6) and C of the Eretria Painter's name vase, VP 19. She is here with Aphrodite, a Nereid (Klymene), and Harmonia, who all set the stage for a wedding. Eukleia and Eunomia are also on hand to suggest that this marriage is being conducted within the bounds of respectability. This is one of only three vase paintings on which a Klymene appears in the circle of Aphrodite. Her other two appearances are at least maritime: at the abduction of Thetis by Peleus, on a *pelike* attributed to the Marsyas Painter (350-340), London, BM cat. E 424 (ARV² 1475.4; *Add²* 381; *Para* 495; BA 230422), and with Aphrodite on a swan (together with Hermes, Dionysos, nymphs), on an unattributed *oinokhoe*, now lost, but formerly Berlin Museums F 2660 (UKV 35 no. 300, pl. 49.1; BA 7867). Barringer is therefore puzzled by the identification of Klymene as a Nereid on VP 45, and suggests that she is here a personification of Fame (Barringer, 1995: 135). Although this personification is unparalleled, it would fit

more suitably with the other personifications in this scene.

Pannykhis is also present at the embrace (and marriage, by implication) of Dionysos and Eirene on VP 35 (fig. 7.3). Here she is a maenad, holding a *thyrsos*, as is appropriate to the Dionysiac theme. Otherwise her role and appearance in this scene are no different than when she is in the circle of Aphrodite (similarly, Eudaimonia is shown once as a maenad—on VP 21 (fig. 5.10)—but many times in the circle of Aphrodite, as discussed in chapter 5, 62-63). On VP 35 Pannykhis looks down on the happy couple—Dionysos and Eirene—from her perch in the upper register. The marital implications are furthered by her companions, Pothos (Longing) and a satyr, Eudygion (ΕΥΔΥΓΙΩΝ), whose name implies the appropriateness of the union of Dionysos and Eirene (εὖ + δυγοί [or ζυγοί] = good yoke) (LSJ⁹ s.v. ζυγόν). This triad together gives the message that the sense of longing through the night reinforces the bond of marriage.

Pompe is a religious/civic procession in the Greek sense of 'sending forth', as derived from the verb πέμπειν, 'to send'. The emphasis in Greek ritual was supposed to be on sending an offering to a god, but the offering is rarely implicated in the iconography the personification, Pompe (*ThesCRA* 1 [2004] 1). She rather suggests preparations for a procession or the procession itself. Pompe (Procession) appears on as many as five Attic vases, although she is only labeled in three of these examples (on VP 38, fig. 8.4, only the Π of the label remains). On the first of these, a volute krater in Stanford in the manner of the Kleophon Painter, 430-420, VP 15, she is clearly labeled ΠΟΜ[Π]Ε (fig. 8.2). She holds a *barbitos* (Lydian lyre) as suits the musical nature of processions at Athens. She walks profile to the right, along with a Papposilenos, towards Dionysos and the Eleusinian goddesses. While it is tempting to take the female figure to the right of Dionysos as Eleusis, once again emphasising the local setting (on parallel with the Makron *skyphos*, VP 1, fig. 3.8, discussed in chapter 3, 33), Clinton has identified her as Demeter (Clinton, 1992: 26). Neither of these characters, however,

fit the label to the right of her head: [...]AN. The 'Mirthless Rock' on which she sits (Clinton, 1992: 124) sets the Eleusinian scene, which, according to Clinton, shows the processional part of the dramatic festival in the Sanctuary of Dionysos at Eleusis, as attested in *IG II²* 949.32. My identification of the female musician as Pompe supports Clinton's reading of this scene. She is indeed labelled, to the right of her head. Clinton has read this label as ΠΙΟΜ-Σ, which he restored to ΠΙΟΜΠΙΟΣ, a name for the Papposilenos. Yet there is not enough space between the M and the last letter for a restoration of two characters. I read that last character as E (an appropriate terminating syllable, on parallel with the spelling of KOPE on the front), rather than Σ, with the resulting restoration of ΠΙΟΜ[Π]E. This label is, in any case, more likely to belong to the female musician, as it is closer to her, and begins from the right of her head (see my earlier comments on the placement of labels, in chapter 2, 22).

Pompe is also found in the circle of Aphrodite on a few Meidian vases. A *khous* in Athens, in the manner of the Meidias Painter (420-410), may show her at a festival associated with Aphrodite, probably a wedding, **VP 38 (fig. 8.4)**. Here Pompe accompanies two Erotes (?) and Hygieia, as well as an unidentified male figure, perhaps another bridegroom, as on **VP 37 (fig. 5.12)** and **VP 41 (fig. 8.5)**. A previously unidentified figure is fully dressed and ready for a procession, right down to the sandals, which a small Eros ties to her feet. Her identity as Pompe is indicated by her appearance as well as her label, ΠΙ[...]. Her most salient attribute, the *kanoun* (processional basket) at her feet, hints that a procession is about to begin. Pompe's label is clearer on a Meidian squat *lekythos* in New York, **VP 41 (fig. 8.5)**. Again, Pompe is next to her *kanoun*. The *νυμφίδες*—slippers customarily given to brides—on top of the *kanoun* are a conspicuous statement that the wedding is about to commence. Along with Aphrodite and her other attendants—Peitho and Pothos (otherwise identified as Eros, most recently by Rosenzweig, 2004: 21, although the label, ΠΙΟ..., is intact and clearly legible)—Pompe accompanies a mortal/hero,

named Khrysippos, presumably to his own wedding. As with **VP 37 (fig. 5.12)** and **38 (fig. 8.4)**, the bridegroom may have given this token 'portrait' of himself to his bride (see Couelle, 1989: 127-143, on such combinations of mortal youths with immortal characters).

A mid-fourth century Kerch *khous* in New York, **VP 58**, the name vase of the so-called Pompe Painter, shows Pompe (labelled, in a rare occurrence of an inscription on a Kerch vase) simultaneously in the spheres of Dionysos and Aphrodite (**fig. 8.6**). The elegant figure of Pompe stands between Eros (who ties his own sandals, rather than hers, as on **VP 38, fig. 8.4**) and a statue of Dionysos. The shape of the vessel—a *khous* (small wine jug)—and the placement of Dionysos on a podium (like a cult statue) make it clear that the festival is for Dionysos. Indeed, miniature versions of this vase form were used at the *Khoes* festival that was part of the Dionysiac *Anthesteria* (van Hoorn, 1951; Hamilton, 1992; Ham, 1997). The wedding iconography on **VP 38 (fig. 8.4)** and **VP 58 (fig. 8.6)**, however, suggests an association of *khoes* with some aspect of a wedding. Otto Brendel argued that this procession is the *Hieros Gamos*, a festival in which the *Basilinna*, the wife of the *Arkhn Basileus*, married Dionysos (Brendel, 1945: 524-525; see also Simon, 1983: 96-98). Reference to this unique Athenian festival would explain the presence of Eros as well as Dionysos, who was otherwise unassociated with weddings. Eros' activity, tying shoes, works as a narrative strategy to tell us that the participants are readying themselves in anticipation of the festival (Schneider-Herrmann, 1967: 77); again, compare the Meidian *khous* in Athens, **VP 38 (fig. 8.4)**. On the back of this *khous* the Pompe Painter has 'caught' Pompe in a candid pose, dressing herself in her *himation*. She is next to her customary *kanoun* (as also on **VP 38** and **41**), the appropriate and expected attribute of Pompe. The seated woman with a *kanoun* in her lap, on the back of the Pompe Painter's *skyphos* in New York (MMA 06.1021.181; Richter & Hall, 1936: 170) might also be identifiable as Pompe.

Simon has suggested that multiple Pom-pai or Theoriai (Festival Embassies), as well as Menes (Months) are shown on a fourth-century calyx krater in Athens, attributed to the Oinomaos Painter, 380-370, **VP 57** (**fig. 8.7**) (Simon, 1994b: 435 s.v. Pompe no. 3, following Simon, 1965: 105-113). She argued that specific months, which were named for festivals, are here shown as young male figures, some standing and others seated. Their unique attributes facilitate Simon's identifications: Gamelion (January-February) holds a *loutrophoros* (bridal bath carrier); Hekatombaion (July-August) leans on a staff; Metageitnion (August-September) or Maimakterion (November-December) holds a box; Boedromion (September-October) has a white calf (for sacrifice); Pyanopsion (October-November) holds a laurel branch (that connects him with Apollon). None are labeled, so the evidence for specific identifications is tenuous, but the moons that hover over each of their heads certainly hint at a lunar connection and the Attic calendar was indeed lunar. The personified months are not otherwise attested in Classical Athenian art (Parrish, 1992). The female figures on this vase might then be certain processions and festivals, Pom-pai and Theoriai, that coincided with these months. Simon elucidated some on the basis of their attributes and others by their proximity to the months. Although this image, which is unique, is not particularly political, the enumeration of the months and festivals, which varied in different *poleis*, was an important aspect of Athenian civic life (Parke, 1977: 24).

Panhellenic festivals

There are no extant personifications of the competitions that played a part in local Athenian festivals, but a few Athenian representations of competitive Panhellenic festivals—Pythias, and Olympias, the festival games at Delphoi and Olympia—are known to have existed at the end of the fifth century. Nikai (Victories) of four specific festivals appear on a *pelike* attributed to the Epimedes Painter, 440-430, in Plovdiv

(**fig. 8.8**). These Nikai—representing victories at Nemea (NIKH NEMEAI), Marathon (MAPATHONI), and Isthmia (ISTHMOI), as well as the Panathenaia (PIANAΘENAOI[Σ] NIKH)—surround a *kitharoidos* named Alkimakhos, who stands victorious on a *bema* that is inscribed ΚΑΛΟΣ ('beautiful'). The Nikai seem to represent musical festivals at these panhellenic centres that he may have won. This scene is unique, although Webster read as Pythia ([ΠΥΘ]ΙΑ) the label on a Nike attending a sacrifice with Diomedes (Webster, 1972: 56-58), on a *stamnos* attributed to Polygnotos, 440-430, in Gotha, Schloßmuseum 51 (ARV² 1028.10, 1678; *Add²* 317; *Para* 442; BA 213391). Just as Alkimakhos may have commissioned this vase to celebrate his own victories, so the politician Alkibiades is said to have commissioned a painter, Aglaophon of Thasos, to commemorate his athletic victories at the Panhellenic games. The historian Satyros mentions that, after his victories at Olympia (probably after the 91st Olympiad, in 416), Alkibiades brought back to Athens two paintings by Aglaophon (Satyros 776 F 1 *FGrH* [=Athenaios 12.534d]). Ioannes Svoronos supposed that Aglaophon's creation was a double-sided *pinax* that fit into a base, Athens, NM 1464, decorated on two sides, with a slot in the middle (Svoronos, 1903-1937: 365-370 no. 161). The idea that Alkibiades' portraits comprised a double-sided *pinax*, however, is unevicenced, despite the iconographic and chronological appropriateness of this base (see Kosmopoulou, 2002: 80, cat. 18; Karouzou 1968, 159). While one of Aglaophon's paintings, **MP 4**, showed Alkibiades seated in the lap of Nemea, the other, **MP 3**, depicted Olympias (Simon, 1994a) and Pythias, the personifications of the games at Olympia and Delphoi, crowning Alkibiades:

When he [Alcibiades] arrived in Athens from Olympia, he set up two paintings by Aglaophon. One of these showed [figures representing] the 'Olympic games' and the 'Pythian games' placing a wreath on his head; in the other Nemea' was shown seated and on her lap was Alcibiades, whose face was more beautiful than those of the women.

(Athenaios 12.534d; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 147)

This painting probably celebrated Alkibiades' victory in the chariot race at the 91st Olympiad (416): Thoukydides records a speech in which Alkibiades urged Athenians to set sail for Sicily in 415 and boasted of his victories—first, second, and fourth places—at these games (Thoukydides 6.16.12). Although the image of Pythias is unparalleled (note, however, the Nike in Gotha mentioned above), Olympias has been identified on several Panathenaic *amphorae*—VP 62, 64–65, and 68—the last three with labels. While there is no evidence for the worship of either Pythias or Olympias, in the Imperial Period a seat in the Athens' Theatre of Dionysos was established for the priest of the cult of Ὀλύμπια Νίκη (Olympian Victory) (IG II² 5027). Michael Maass connects this with the Hadrianic restoration of the Olympieion, the Temple of Olympian Zeus (Maass, 1972: 106, pl. 7).

One can draw a fine line between the personification of a localised festival and that of the locality itself, insofar as both figures would be represented as nymphs, beautiful female figures; attributes, actions, and perhaps labels might distinguish the one from the other. Whereas Olympias, the festival, is known on paintings, as noted above, Olympia, the personification of the city, might be represented on coins of Olympia (Moustaka, 1994). Pausanias (1.22.7) suggests, however, that the Nemea shown with Alkibiades on MP 4 represented the Panhellenic Nemean festival at which Alkibiades might be victorious.

There are other pictures [at the Pinakothek in the Propylaia on the Akropolis] including a portrait of Alkibiades and in the picture are emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea.

So this personification might have been closer to the images of Pythias and Olympias than to the earlier images of Nemea in the company of Herakles, on vases and gems, or even the later image of Nemea on a lion, on MP 7 (as discussed in chapter 3, 31). Perhaps Aglaophon presented Alkibiades sitting in Nemea's lap to suggest that he was a favourite at Nemea (as in much of Greece), whether or not he had yet won the games there. MP 4 was the most striking of the paintings, as

Ploutarkhos notes in his list of Alkibiades' shocking feats (*Alkibiades* 16.7):

When Aristophon¹ painted an allegorical picture that showed Nemea embracing Alkibiades, people were delighted and came in crowds to look at it. But the older generation were offended at this too; they thought it a sight fit for a tyrant's court and an insult to the laws of Athens.

This painting was clearly put on public display. Pausanias claims to have seen it, or one very similar to it, in fact, in the Pinakothek of the Propylaia on the Akropolis (Pausanias 1.22.7; perhaps, however, the painting was moved there in Roman times, when it began to be used as a *pinakothek*). Ploutarkhos gives a political reason for the offense taken by the elders of Athens. Here we have a unique attestation of the reception, both positive and negative, of the use of political personifications in Classical Athens. Alkibiades' motivation for depicting these personifications was surely political. With these paintings on display to the public he could boast of his victories, honourable acts that would give a powerful impression to foreigners and could only help Athens' cause (Bowra, 1960: 68–79; Aurenche, 1974: 127; and Pemberton, 1981: 309–312).

Alkibiades' paintings are the clearest fifth-century example of the public use of art that was privately commissioned. Almost all extant political personifications known from the period after 378, however, are found on monuments intended for public display, whether or not the public paid for them. In 340/39, Olympias is personified again on a decorated vessel that was publicly commissioned: a Panathenaic *amphora* now at Harvard, attributed to the Marsyas Painter, VP 68 (fig. 8.9). Here Olympias has wrapped her entire body, including her hands, in her *himation*, in a posture that anticipates the personifications of Phylai on the Atarbos base,

¹ Ploutarkhos' attribution of the painting to Aristophon—possibly the father (or uncle) of Aglaophon, the son of an earlier Aglaophon, and the brother of Polygnotos—dates it considerably later than the career of Alkibiades, so Satyros' attribution to Aglaophon, shown above, is preferred (Pollitt, 1990: 141 n. 20 and 147).

R 9 (fig. 9.4-5; Shear, 2003: 173). Yet Olympias holds her veil severely across her lower face, as if to hide from the wrestlers on whom she spies. She hides because she knows that she is out of place at the Panathenaic Festival. Her presence must be meant as a compliment to the victor and to the Olympic festival—that the winning wrestler's success in the events at Athens might portend his future success (in a few years) in the larger contest at Olympia (Pindaros, *Nemeanike* 10; see also Beazley, 1951: 91). Slightly different but fragmentary representations of Olympias have been found on the 'B sides' of **VP 62** and—identified by inscription—**64-65**, but also on earlier Panathenaic *amphorae* attributed to the Marsyas Painter, dating to 360/59 (Valavanis 1991, 268-286).

Fin-de-siècle ephemera

The fin-de-siècle phenomenon of ephemeral personifications treated in this chapter is transitional

in terms of history as well as context. These personifications bridge Athens' life from one century to the next, from a state of prolonged war to one of relative peace at home. They appear on arts that are more obviously public than their predecessors, and thus anticipate the predominance of fourth-century personifications in the public arena. Many of the private art works treated in previous chapters were used publicly. Likewise the paintings of Alkibiades—like votive dedications in sanctuaries at all times—were paid for by individuals, but intended for public exposure. Panathenaic *amphorae* turn the tables: these publicly commissioned vases were presumably taken to the homes of the victors after they were awarded: **VP 61-66** were found together in a private house in Eretria. The next chapter concerns another class of personifications that appeared on public monuments, especially relief sculpture decorating documents. Their personifications of places and political groups of individuals, which might also be described as ephemera, were mainly a fourth-century phenomenon.

CHAPTER NINE

MASCULINE PEOPLE IN FEMININE PLACES: THE BODY POLITIC AT HOME AND ABROAD

The popularity of local personifications dramatically increased at the end of the fifth century and into the fourth century, when artists seem to have created them *ad hoc*, for explanatory purposes. Their proliferation reflects a strong relationship between public art and political ideology in late Classical Athens. Hellas (Greece) is the most inclusive geographical personification known from the Classical period. Perhaps even regions within Greece—Makedonia and Peloponnesos—were also personified. Hellas, the regions, and cities—as in the earlier Classical period—are embodied as ageless women. Attic artists personified the city of Athens and her populace, however, in a variety of other forms: Attika, the land occupied by the Athenians; Boule (Council) and Demos (the Body Politic), the legislative groups that represented the Athenians; the *phylai*, tribes or voting groups into which the people had been divided by Kleisthenes at the beginning of the Athenian democracy (508/7); and the individual *demes*, or neighbourhoods, that constituted the most basic divisions of the people of Attika, which were in turn represented by their own Demoi. The Athenian artists also represented foreign *poleis*, cities with which Athens had relations, by their personified Demoi or by local personifications of the cities themselves. Demos and his kin are arguably local personifications, for *demos* (ὁ δῆμος) originally denoted country or land (Homeros, *Ilias* 5.710, 16.437, *Odysseia* 1.103, 13.266, 322, 15.95, 24.12), and by association came to mean the people that inhabited that land (Homeros, *Ilias* 3.50; Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 261; Aiskhylos, *Persai* 732).

Towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, local personifications began to appear in expli-

citly public contexts, on monuments intended for public display commissioned at public expense. Many of these late fifth and fourth century personifications are found on document reliefs erected in sanctuaries and market places of the city. These reliefs surmounted inscriptions documenting treaties and honourary decrees. They may have helped to make the content of each document intelligible to the reader who either could not or would not read the entire inscription (Henry, 2002: 91-118). As with all art embellished with words, a symbiotic relationship necessarily evolved between each relief and accompanying inscription, which may have been interpreted differently by different audiences, perhaps according to the degree to which they could read: “Both art and text serve to extend, complicate, negate and consolidate each other” (Blanshard, 2007: 21). On these reliefs local personifications appear alongside other divinities, and less rarely with other personifications, as in the case of Epidauros on **VP 28** (fig. 5.14). To signal the less than divine status of the personifications, the sculptors generally showed them at a smaller scale than the Olympian divinities, at a size comparable to that of local or eponymous heroes, while real people (generally honorands) were shown at an even smaller scale.

While personification and deification are means to two very different ends—personification is a form of expression whereas deification is a form of belief—they have become muddled in scholarship. This is especially the case with regard to local personifications, for which philologists have come to rely too heavily on the limited material evidence. From the definitive secondary work on the *polis*, comes this misunderstanding:

Deification of the *polis* itself, however, is unattested until the Hellenistic period, when, e.g., the sculptor Eutykhides created the cult image of Antiocheia in the shape of Tykhe with a turret crown on her head and her right foot on the river god Orontes [on the founding of Antioch in 300].

(Hansen & Nielsen, 2004: 132)

While Eutykhides' statue was truly original, neither the conception of Tykhe (Fortune), nor her mural crown, nor her worship, were novel at that time (see Matheson ed., 1994, especially articles by Matheson and Metzler; Messerschmidt, 2003: 61-140; Christof, 2001). The Tykhe of Antiocheia was not the personification of the city Antiocheia, the region Antiocheia, or any *polis*, but rather, as her name quite literally puts it, a personification of the Fortune of the City, which itself had precursors (Broucke, 1994). Our most secure evidence that an Athenian personification of place received worship in the Classical period is Pausanias' report (8.30.10; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 84) of the cult statue of Megalopolis, S 5.

Quite near...is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed the Savior. It is ornamented with columns placed all around it. Next to Zeus, who is seated on a throne, stands, on the right, 'Megalopolis,' and, on the left, is an image of Artemis the Savior. These are of Pentelic marble, and the Athenians Kephisodotos and Xenophon made them.

Although the creators of this Megalopolis were Athenians, none other than the Megalopolitans can be given credit for the idea to worship her. The Megalopolitans were not alone, however: Pausanias and others enumerate a plethora of unattributed statues of local personifications (Hamdorf, 1964: 90-93).

The fact that artists consistently represented personifications, like heroes, at an intermediate scale between gods and humans, however, might imply that they ascribed some element of semi-divinity to their personifications. These representations should not, however, be taken as attestations of cult status. There is no evidence, in fact, that personifications of places and peoples were worshipped at Athens. The abstract concept of the *polis* itself, in the sense of settlement or

community, was personified in old comedy but not deified (and see VP 10, fig. 11.5, for Eupolis [Good city] rather than Polis on a vase painting). Hansen and Nielsen suggest that the closest one comes to the worship of the *polis* is the public cult of Hestia, worshipped at Athens as elsewhere through the public hearth in the *prytaneion* (Parker, 2005: 13-15, 404), because the hearth housed the eternal flame that was meant to symbolise the eternal life of the *polis* (Hansen & Nielsen, 2004: 132; Miller 1978, 14-16, *passim*). While this may be true, Hestia—a goddess in her own right—cannot be taken as a personification of the city, although her name is that of the hearth through which she is represented. It is rather the places (*polis* locations or regions) as well as its institutions (including *demos* or 'body politic') that are first personified and (sometimes) later deified.

Athens and Attika

Athens is never personified, but rather represented by the goddess Athena. Even the personification of the *Demos* of Athens—who was meant to represent all of the male citizens of Athens—did not represent all of Athens' people and therefore didn't represent Athens in as complete a sense as would Athena. Athena's image served on the Classical coins, as on document reliefs, to represent the people and everything else that comprised Athens (Lawton, 1995a: 40-46). The sculptors of document reliefs might have represented the personifications of the legislative entities that issued the decrees recorded on the documents—*Demos* and/or *Boule*—but included Athena on as many as 25 reliefs to emphasise that the legislative bodies were those of Athens. Perhaps the inclusion of Athena became unnecessary after a while, when the public had become accustomed to the meaning and iconography of the personifications on the document reliefs.

The personification of Attika (the region that comprised Athens and her *demoi*) might have stood in for Athena, in representing the people,

as well as the land, but in fifth century vase painting Attika simply indicates where a particular event took place. Attika was not just a land mass but actually incorporated all of the communities that were included in the Classical *polis* of Athens. Attika may be represented on three Attic red-figure vases dating to the last two decades of the fifth century, although none are labelled. The conception of Attika as an eponymous nymph contradicts Pausanias' note (1.2.6) that the region was named after a certain Atthis, daughter of Kranaos. Of course sources often conflict on such matters, but it is conceivable that artists who were aware of some such mythography would have steered away from labelling 'her' either with the name of the nymph or the name of the region. Neils suggests that Attika is the seated female who performs the traditional function of Ge (mother Earth) at the birth of Erikhthonios, on a Meidian squat *lekythos* in Cleveland, **VP 29 (fig. 8.1)** (Neils, 1983: 277). This image of mother earth is quite different from that of Ge in other Erikhthonios scenes, as her full figure is shown (she is seated) and she does not wear a grain crown. The long haired woman in the *gigantomakhia* on a calyx krater in Naples, for example, is indeed Ge, rather than Attika, because she emerges from the ground, and is at least as large as the Giants around her (the Giants were her sons). A figure who is likewise understood as Ge or Attika is found on a Kerch relief *khous* attributed to the workshop of Xenophantos, 410-400, with a representation of Peitho, in St. Petersburg (as noted in chapter 5, 58). The birth of Erikhthonios is most famously shown the front of the Kekrops Painter's name vase (a calyx krater) in Eichenzell, Museum Schloß Fasanerie AV 77. The unlabeled woman who attends Athena here might be Attika (**fig. 9.1**). Like 'Attika' on **VP 29 (fig. 8.1)** she wears a *khiton* and is seated. The case for Attika is even weaker on a Kerch relief *hydriai* from Pantikapeion (360-350), in St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, II. 1872.130 (KAB 6a) (*UKV* 21 no. 161, pl. 28.1-2, fig. 58), as this unlabeled nymph in the top right corner lacks Athena's attributes. On the Kekrops Painter's krater, however, she holds some of Athena's armour

(a gorgoneion shield and a Korinthian helmet) as well as an olive wreath. Perhaps Attika in these variants of the Erikhthonios myth adds a democratic element to the traditional story.

Tribes and neighbourhoods

Another way of representing a subsection of Attika, or of the people of Attika, is the personification of the *phylai* (tribes) into which the population of Attika was divided in 508/7, or *demes* (neighbourhoods) into which Attika had been traditionally divided and whose identities remained as part of the democratic organisation of the region: each *deme* belonged to one of the *phylai*.

Phylai are not labeled on any extant Attic images but may be shown in the context of victories celebrating tribal contests. A wingless female helps Nike to decorate bulls' horns with ribbons, in celebration of a *dithyrambic* victory, on a *stamnos* in Munich, attributed to the Hektor Painter, 430-420, **VP 9 (fig. 9.2)**. This figure would certainly be identified as another Nike if not for her lack of wings. Arthur Milchhöfer first suggested that she might represent Phyle (Milchhöfer, 1880: 183, followed by Van Straten, 1995: 45, and others) and he made the same identification for two wingless females decorating bull's horns on a contemporary *amphora* in London, attributed to the Nausikaa Painter, **VP 14**. This conjecture begins to seem less tenuous when one realises that this 'wingless Nike' or youthful female celebrating tribal victories in the torch race is found on several other vases dating down to the 390s: a *stamnos* found in Athens' Agora, attributed to the Dinos Painter, 420-410, **VP 34**; a bell krater in London, attributed to the Nikias Painter, 410-400, **VP 50 (fig. 9.3)**; a bell krater in Leipzig, **VP 55**, and a calyx krater in Mannheim, attributed to the Painter of Athens 12255, 400-390, **VP 54**. On the Mannheim example, which is similar to the Agora scene (Corbett, 1949: 348), she runs alongside a bull rearing before an Ionic column, and raises her right arm to touch his horn while holding the sword (associated with torch

ances) upright in her left hand. Helmut Schoppa first called this female figure Phyle (Schoppa, 1935: 40). Phyle would indeed lend herself to multiplication (on repetition on Greek vases see Steiner, 2007), as there were ten tribes in Classical Athens, yet only one is represented here, presumably the victorious Phyle (two seem to be represented, however, on **VP 14**). The use of personifications of Phylai on these victory images would be a good way of emphasising the importance of the Phylai in the organisation of these events, and thereby advertising the special political organisation of Attika, of which the Athenians were proud. The same effect might be gained from representation of the tribal heroes, who are amply shown throughout Classical Athenian art (Kron, 1976; Kearns, 1989). The Nikias Painter's 'wingless Nike/Phyle' on **VP 50** (**fig. 9.3**) witnesses the crowning or victorious moment of the winner. He is the central of the three nude torch racers and wears a spiked crown labelled on its headband: ANTIOX[...]. This may identify the winning 'team' (the Phyle of the victor): Antiokheis. Alternatively it labels the man as the *phyle* hero, Antiokhos, himself. The indication of the 'winner' presupposes that this piece was commissioned by the victorious *phyle* as a prize or celebration. Similarly, the identity of the victorious *phyle* would have been known in the case of Atarbos' monument, **R 9** (**fig. 9.4-5**), which celebrates Atarbos' victory, on behalf of his *phyle* (as discussed below). In all other cases, however, the generic Phylai might have better suited the needs of artists who prepared the vases in anticipation of the event, when the identity of the winning *phyle* was not yet known. In such specific contexts as tribal victories the attributes and actions speak loudly enough for the identity of the 'wingless Nikai' as Phylai that labels seem not to have been required.

Angeliki Kosmopoulou has persuasively identified as Phylai two otherwise unidentified women on the Atarbos Base, **R 9** (**fig. 9.4**) (Kosmopoulou, 2002: 67-68), a relief-decorated statue base of a victory monument. The inscription records that the *khoregos* Atarbos erected this monument

to celebrate his choral victories.¹ Uta Kron may be right that Phyle is personified alongside Nike on several other Athenian reliefs that belonged to victory monuments (Kron, 1997: 997 s.v. Phyle nos. 3-5), but no relevant inscriptions are preserved on those monuments and the inclusion of Phyle would not significantly alter our interpretation of them. Atarbos' base depicts many male figures, participants in the *dithyramb* (or the *euandria*) and *pyrrhic* dancers (compare similar figures on Athens, AM 432: *IG II*² 3026; and Athens, NM 3854: *SEG* 23 no. 103; Wilson, 1997 and 2000: 236-237). These events were contested by representatives of the different *phylai* (Kosmopoulou, 1998). The entire work then seems to present a deliberate contrast between two forms of *khoreia*—*pyrrhic*, performed by nude boys or youths, and *dithyrambic*, performed by older, heavily clad men (Wilson, 2000: 40). The lone male figure at the left is probably the *khoregos* or chorus leader (Kosmopoulou, 2002: 67). The female figures (**fig. 9.5**) were once thought to be judges or spectators (Verrall & Harrison, 1890: 347) or even *khoregoi*. More recently, Peter Wilson has suggested that they are Muses (Wilson, 2000: 40). Despite the seeming appropriateness of Muses in this context, Wilson's suggestion is untenable on iconographic grounds.² Kosmopoulou suggests that these female figures, who are slightly larger than the male (mortal) participants, might be Phylai (Kosmopoulou, 2002: 67-68). There are two Phylai, one for each of Atarbos' two victories celebrated with this monu-

¹ The inscription dates the monument to the 'Arkheonship of Kephisodoros.' Epigraphers traditionally dated the base to the time of an earlier Kephisodoros (366), in relation to prosopographical information regarding Atarbos. Shear, agreeing with Kosmopoulou's point that the style is more akin to the work of the end of the Classical period, has revised the date to 323/2 (Shear, 2003: 164-166; see also Oikonomides, 1980: 20-22).

² For iconographic parallels Wilson relied, unfortunately, on Horn, 1931, which is an out-of-date general study for a later period, and ignored iconographic studies of fourth century relief sculpture (e.g. Lawton, 1995a) and the many recent and good studies on Muses in ancient art (e.g. Taback, 2002).

ment. Kosmopoulou explains that the right block was dedicated first, and later joined by the left block (Kosmopoulou, 1998). Julia Shear agrees, and adapted this solution to a rereading of the inscription (Shear, 2003). This proposal explains the discrepancy between the two in relief style, inscriptions, and seemingly unbalanced composition of the bronze figures that would have been supported by the base(s). The group is now best understood as consisting of two figures above the left block and one larger scale figure above the (earlier) right block that seems to be placed surprisingly far to the right: youths or boy *pyrrhikistai* with *khoregos* (Shear, 2003: 174), or satyrs with Dionysos (Kosmopoulou, 1998: 168).

DR 41 and its attached inscription (*IG II² 417*) also commemorated a tribal contest, perhaps one associated with the Panathenaia or the Amphiareia (**fig. 9.6**) (Palagia, 1975: 182).³ In either case, it seems to honour the *leitourgic* (public service) training of ephebes (as hoplites) associated with *eutaxia* (e.g., Isokrates 8.116). The uniquely Athenian democratic institution of *leitourgia* ('liturgies') was a means of requiring elite members of the community to finance events and facilities (such as navy ships) for the good of the *deme* or *polis* (Balot, 2006: 83; Christ, 2006: 13, *passim*). This relief shows Eutaxia (labelled) honouring the victorious *phyle/ai*. Eutaxia (Discipline) was a prominent quality of the ephebes, for which they were praised in Attic inscriptions from the 330s to the Roman period (Palagia, 1988a: 120 s.v. Eutaxia no. 1). Kron argues then that the

male figure alongside Eutaxia is a *phyle* hero, because *eutaxia* was a *phyle* responsibility (Kron, 1976: 237-238, 289). But which hero would it be, as all ten tribes are represented in the names of liturgists on the list? As usual, each individual is listed with his ethnic or sub-ethnic to indicate his status as a full citizen (Hansen & Nielsen, 2004: 13). I would agree therefore with Carol Lawton's suggestion that the large male figure alongside Eutaxia is Demos, a personification who could represent people in all tribes (Lawton, 1995a: 146). The smaller (mortal) figure then stands in place of all the victors and the *phylai* to which they belonged (cf. Lawton, 1995a: no. 97). Demos and Eutaxia honour these victors and their *phylai*. The tripod on a column next to Eutaxia might be a prize (Palagia, 1975: 182) or alternatively a topographical indicator. Such monuments may have played a part in elevating *eutaxia* to a civic virtue of great importance in post-Classical Athens, yet Eutaxia is only personified this once.

Just as Athena might symbolise Athens, and Antiokhos might have stood for his tribe, Antiokheis, on **VP 50** (**fig. 9.3**), a local or eponymous hero might have represented his or her neighbourhood, or *deme*. Alternatively a *deme* might be represented by a personification of itself—see the discussion of Melite in chapter 3, 34-35—or even its own Demos (on which, see below, 101). As with all nymphs and heroes, however, one cannot definitively identify such a figure without a label.

The eponymous hero, Marathon, was shown on a monumental wall painting of the Battle of Marathon, in the Stoa Poikile that faced the Athenian Agora (**MP 1**):

The final part of the painting represents those who fought at Marathon. The Boeotians who inhabit Plataia and the Attic force are coming to grips with the barbarians.... Here too is a depiction of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named.

(Pausanias 1.15.3; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 144)

Pausanias makes it clear that this painting represented the eponymous hero of Marathon, however, not the personification of the *deme*. The eponymous hero becomes the *deme* hero, without

³ The long-time and likely association of this relief with EM 7166 (formerly NM 11172), a list of two men from each *phyle* involved in a liturgy called the Eutaxia (ἡ εὐταξία) is not certain, as none of the extant fragments join. If these two fragments were part of the same original monument, it must have predated 317/6, when Demetrios of Phaleron abolished festival liturgies. A date of 333/2 or 332/1 is preferred by epigraphers, most recently by Stephen Lambert, who now thinks that the the number of men involved was too high for festival liturgies, and that the list has "something to do with the panel(s?) of 300 who were liable to the *proeisphora* and the trierarchy...[perhaps]... A monument inscribed with both the law introducing compulsory dedication of phialai *leitourgikai* and the liturgists of its first year of operation" (perhaps intended to be the first of an annual list) (Lambert, 2001: 59).

a name change, so in symbolic terms he is the same character (Arapojanni, 1992: 356-357; see also Philostratos, *Bioi Sophiston* 553). The painting is neither preserved nor sufficiently described, however, to provide us with any understanding of the appearance of the hero. Such eponymous heroes of Attic *demes* were surely shown for political reasons, however. This Classical painting, **MP 1**, was clearly placed in a prominent public location with the intention of bolstering national pride, in emphasising the fact that the important battle—a recent historical event—took place on Athenian soil.

The Phiale Painter, 440-430, may have used personifications to indicate the *deme* of Marathon on the exterior of a small stemless cup in Verona, **VP 8** (fig. 9.7). The scenes on both sides of this cup illustrate two of Theseus' deeds: capturing the Marathonian bull (A) and killing the Krommyonian sow (B). Krommyo is not in Attika, but on the Isthmos, so somewhat less interesting to us in understanding Attic neighbourhoods. It is nonetheless relevant to the Athenian use of local personifications. The old white-haired woman who intervenes on behalf of the sow, on the back of the Verona cup, was named Phaia (Apollodoros, *Epitome* 1.1; other sources inform us that Phaia was the name of the sow: Bakchylides 17.23; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 38.6; Pausanias 2.1.3; Ploutarkhos, *Theseus* 9.2) or Krommyo. While this story is shown on many late Archaic and earlier Classical Attic vases, no artist labeled the old woman Phaia, yet Aison, 420-410, clearly labelled her KPOMYΩ (Krommyo) on his cup in Madrid that shows Theseus' cycle of labours: Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11.265 (ARV² 1174.1, 1685; *Add²* 339; BA 215557). It seems unrealistic, however, to interpret every old woman shown intervening between Theseus and the Krommyonian sow, as Krommyo (Simantoni-Bournia, 1992b: 139-142). Aison may have labeled the woman Krommyo for lack of another name, as he had gone to the effort of labeling Theseus' other antagonists depicted on this masterpiece. Or perhaps he intended the "Krommyo" label to indicate the locus of the event rather than

the name of the woman: a dipinto, ΜΙΝΟΣ, next to the Minotaur on the tondo of the same cup, is probably shorthand for the Palace of Minos, rather than the name of the Minotaur itself.

On the front of **VP 8** (fig. 9.7), a younger female figure beseeches Theseus on behalf of the Marathonian bull. Scholars have been tempted to recognise her as Medea (e.g. Michaelis, 1885: 232), but the sorceress' involvement in this conflict is obscure. Apollodoros tells us that, when Theseus arrived at Athens and found his father, Aigeus, his step-mother, Medea, tried to get rid of him, not with the customary poison but by persuading Aigeus to send Theseus after the Marathonian bull (Apollodoros, *Epitome* 1.5, perhaps following Euripides' [lost] *Aigeus*). When Theseus subdued the bull, however, Medea resorted to her cup of poison and was then exiled, as known famously from Euripides' *Medea*. The 'nymph' on the Verona cup and six other vases, however, is not shown in Medea's customary Oriental dress, nor does she have attributes that might connect her with Medea (Shefton, 1956: 160). Suggestions that she represents an eponymous nymph of a nearby spring or fountain (hitherto unparalleled), or the feminine *phyle* to which belonged the populace of the Marathonian *deme*, are inconclusive. It is also doubtful that she is meant to personify Marathon, whose eponymous hero was masculine, according to the gender of the name itself (Métzger, 1996: 278).

Aspects of the Athenian Demos

By the Classical period, *demos* (ὁ δῆμος) meant the ruling body of free citizens (LSJ⁹ s.v. δῆμος), and it is this sovereign Demos that was revered in the cult with the Nymphs from the fifth century (for plural δῆμοι in the fifth century, see Storey, 2003: app. 5). Rock inscriptions attesting the cult of Demos and the Nymphs are variably dated, as early as the fifth century by Kron (Kron, 1979: 65-72, fig. 1, pl. 11.1-2). While the earliest worship of Demos alone is attested by a third century dedicatory inscription—Athens, EM 10660 (*IG* II² 2834), *IG* I³ 1065, now dated to 462, attests

a joint sanctuary of Demos and the nymphs.⁴ Surely at this time the democratic enthusiasm for the Demos—a unified and newly powerful group of citizens—encouraged the introduction of his worship into that of the well established nymphs. Not much earlier, after all, the worship of Pan, an Arkadian god, had been grafted onto that of the nymphs, with images of Pan literally inserted into the caves in which the nymphs were worshipped (Allan, 2004: 134-135; Larson, 2001: 97; Loraux, 2000: 39-43). Herodotos suggests the new importance of Pan in Attika as a result of his help at the Battle of Marathon in 490 (Herodotos 6.105). These nymphs may have been the Horai (Seasons) and/or Kharites (Graces): both groups of fertility divinities were worshipped on the Akropolis. According to Harrison, the association of Demos with the Kharites “...had a public purpose, to express the official thanks of Athenians to foreign benefactors, whose statues and honorary decrees were set up in this sanctuary” (Harrison, 1986: 192).

Demos also came to denote the commoners (Homeros, *Ilias* 2.188, 198; Hesiodos, *Erga kai hemerai* 261; Herodotos 1.196, 5.30, 61; Thukydidēs 5.3), who comprised a good part of the citizenry in the democracy, and the two definitions—commoners and citizens—coexisted through the Classical period (LSJ⁹ s.v. δῆμος; Osborne, 2010: 41-42; Balot, 2006: 94). Tension between the two views of *demos* is reflected in the personification of Demos on stage and in visual arts. Certainly in the second half of the fifth century the word occasionally took on negative connotations, and Thukydidēs, at least, increasingly represents the *demos* as fickle and gullible, capable of being deceived by politicians such as Perikles (2.65.4), Kleon (4.28.3), Nikias (6.24.3-4), Alkibiades (60), and others after the Sicilian expedition (8.1.3). In the 420s the educated elite

that comprised the few younger men who stayed at home during the Arkhidamian War began to distance themselves from the old, uneducated masses who favoured a return to the Athens of the past (Forrest, 1975b). The *demos* as a mass of commoners was then characterised as a silly old farmer, like the character Demos in Aristophanes’ *Hippeis*, in 424. The chorus of aristocratic cavalrymen in this comedy exclaims (1111-1118, trans. Sommerstein, 1978):

The People’s [Demos’] power’s a glorious thing;
All nations fear him like a king.
Yet he’s an easy one to cheat,
A prey to flattery and deceit.
He sides agawp with every speaker;
There’s none who has convictions weaker.
If he has got a brain, I’d say
It always is on holiday.

Aristophanes presents similar figures, in the characters of Dikaiopolis in *Akharnes* (425), and Bdelekleon in *Sphekes* (422).⁵ Aristophanes was probably the first to personify the Body Politic, but similar characters may have been portrayed in the lost comedies of Eupolis and Kratinos. A similar character, perhaps even *Demos* himself, played the protagonist in Eupolis’ *Marikas* (*marikas* perhaps meant ‘foreign slave boy’) of 421 and perhaps also *Poleis* of 422 (see also *Demoi*, c. 417 or 412: Eupolis [frs. 99-146 KA] and Kratinos, *Ploutoi* [fr. 171.23 KA]). Silk rightly points out the seeming paradoxes surrounding Aristophanes’ rejuvenated Demos in *Hippeis*: “an apolitical idea of a *polis*, a *demos* in power and restored to its full vigour but distancing itself from its own processes, a cheer for peace *now* but also for a great war *then*” (Silk, 2000: 301). Such paradoxes of course arise because Aristophanes’ Demos is a parody. Hermann Kleinknecht has persuasively argued that, imbued as he is with cultic elements, Aristophanes’ Demos was based on an established religious manifestation, perhaps an official cult such as that with the nymphs (Kleinknecht, 1939).

⁴ Later inscriptions attest the continuation of this cult through the Roman period: IG II² (220s) (Travlos, 1971: 79, figs. 103-104); IG II² 2798 (197/6); IG II² 3547 [SEG 39.311] (first century CE); IG II² 3571 (117/8 CE); IG II² 5029a and 5047 (Augustan) (Maass, 1972: 109, pl. 8 and 121-22, pl. 12). See also Schwarzenberg 1966, 33-39.

⁵ See also a possibly inauthentic speech ascribed to Andokides (Ploutarkhos, *Themistokles* 32.4), and a fragment of another speech: Andokides fr. 4 (Blass 1966).

Plinius's testimony makes it clear that Parrhasios effectively reflected the divergent views of *demos* in the first known personification of Demos in visual arts, **MP 2**, dating to the last quarter of the fifth century:

He painted a picture of the Demos of the Athenians, a work which is especially ingenious in its presentation of the subject; for he represented it as changeable, irascible, unjust, and unstable, but also placable, clement, and full of pity; boastful and...illustrious and humble, ferocious and fearful—all at the same time.

(Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.69: trans. Pollitt, 1990: 154)

This is followed by Plinius's discussion of Parrhasios' (more famous) painting of Theseus, and then a portrait of Theseus by Euphranor (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.129), where he does not discuss associated personifications, if any. Pausanias tells us (1.3.3-4; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 168) about a depiction of Demos with Democracy (**MP 6**), however, in the Agora:

On the wall adjacent [to the twelve gods] a Theseus is depicted, along with 'Democracy' and Demos. The picture indicates that it was Theseus who established political equality among the Athenians.

As suggested by Martin Robertson, "it is tempting to suppose that the two [Parrhasios' Demos, **MP 2**, and Theseus] belonged originally to one composition painted by Parrhasios in this stoa [of Zeus Eleutherios] shortly after its erection...; and that Euphranor later added his version of the scene [**MP 6**]" (Robertson, 1975: 434). As there was clearly a lapse in time from erection of the Stoa (430-409/8), to its decoration with murals, due to lack of funds in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War (Thompson, 1937: 69). Olga Alexandri-Tzahou has dismissed this connection between Parrhasios' and Euphranor's painted Demoi (1986b: 379 s.v. Demos no. 47).

The actual appearance of Parrhasios' Demos is a matter of much scholarly concern. Ernst Pfuhl visualised a single figure with a 'Mona Lisa' type smile (Pfuhl, 1923: 2.755), whereas Saloman Reinach suggested a succession of figures, per-

haps Demos as three people—a child, a young man, and a mature man (Reinach, 1921: 232 n. 1). Reinach's idea leans too heavily on comparison to Roman reliefs. Roger Hinks, more sensibly, allowed for rhetorical exaggeration on Plinius' part (Hinks, 1968: 72). A further monumental painting of Demos, **MP 8**, is mentioned but not described by Plinius (*Naturalis historia* 35.137; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 166):

Aristolaos, the son and disciple of Pausias, was among the most severe of painters. By him are an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Medea, a Virtue, a Theseus, an image of the Athenian Demos, and an Immolation of an Ox.

This painting clearly belongs to the second half of the fourth century, as Pausias worked until c. 330 (Pollitt, 1990: 164-166). Did the image of Demos change in the fourth century? It is indeterminate whether Euphranor's mid-fourth century painting of Demos (with *Demokratia*, and Theseus, **MP 6**) copied Parrhasios' precedent. Aristophanes' portrayal of Demos in *Hippeis* (in 424) is sympathetic and protective and might foreshadow the respect that the *Demos* regained by the fourth century. Aristophanes sees the *demos* as capable of reform. The rejuvenated Demos at the end of *Hippeis*, therefore, vows to restore old-fashioned ways in the government, a solution for which the democrats yearned (Aristophanes, *Sphekes* 1335-1408). The creators of the restored democracy of 403/2 subordinated the power of the *demos* to the power of *nomos*. Yet the increasing disdain for *demos* expressed by some Athenians towards the end of the fifth century subsided, perhaps because of the reconciliation of aristocratic and democratic interests in the restored democracy. The people may also have taken a more protective attitude towards the concept of *demos* in the aftermath of the tyranny of the Thirty (403): this was a brief time during which the power of the people was severely curtailed. At any rate, the respect that Demos gained in fourth-century Athens is reflected in the common citation or invocation of *demos* or the "Good Fortune of the Demos" in decrees and other documents, as enumerated below.

In the extant visual sources Demos is shown as a bearded (mature, not necessarily old) Attic countryman, wearing a *himation*, often holding a staff. In this form he is depicted, with honorands, deities or personifications, on as many as 32 reliefs decorating inscriptions that recorded decrees approved by the *ekklesia*, the assembly of the *demos* of Athens: DR 3, 8-10, 12, 14, 17 (fig. 9.8), 19-22, 24-28, 30-35, 37-38, 40 (fig. 9.11), 41 (fig. 9.6), 43-48. These representations began to appear with frequency in the first quarter of the fourth century, with most dated to the middle quarters of that century. DR 3 is perhaps the earliest as, on the basis of style, it should belong to the period from 430 to 410. A *terminus post quem* corresponding with the beginning of the Peloponnesian Wars (431) is provided in line 6 of its inscription, with a reference to the war, while a *terminus ante quem* of 411 is suggested by the *kalokretai* in line 19 of fragment b.⁶ While others have identified the Demos figure on this relief as the Thracian hero, Deloptes, Lawton argues that "...this figure lacks his [Deloptes'] usual monumentality and regal attitude" (1995a: 117). Yet Demos also has a regal appearance: often seated, sometimes with sceptre, he is easily confused with Zeus. On DR 22, the male figure might be identified as Zeus rather than Demos because here he is larger than Athena (Lawton, 1995a: 127), whereas on others, such as DR 28, he is clearly smaller than her. On DR 24, only the hand holding the crown is preserved, so might be that of the honorand's patron deity. Yet Demos is labeled on as many as four: DR 20, 25, 35, and 37. The bearded male figure labelled with an inscription that begins with the letter Δ on DR 35 is readily comparable to Demos on DR 41 (Palagia, 1980: 63). There is no mark on DR 32, however, to support Alexandri-Tzahou's claim (Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 380 s.v. Demos no. 55) that a label identifies the male figure as the Demos of Athens.

The character Demos shown on all of these documents represents the people of the Athenian *ekklesia* (assembly). The *ekklesia* ratified all Athenian decrees, but Demos is generally shown awarding honours to individuals, as on DR 9, 12, 14, 17 (fig. 9.8), 19, 21, 24-27, 30-35, 38, 41 (fig. 9.6), 43, 45-48. In this list I include the sole figure on DR 21, whose scale, in proportion to the height of the relief, is comparable to that of Demos on DR 47 (*contra* Lawton, 1995a: 153). Demos also appears with Boule (the Council that also ratified decrees), when both award crowns to honorands, on DR 9, 17 (fig. 9.8), 20, 31, 34, and 47. On only one of these documents, DR 9, does the honorand seem to be a woman, probably a priestess of Athena (Walter, 1923: 15). Richard Schöne made the unlikely suggestion that this female honorand was rather a personification (Schöne, 1872: 44), perhaps on account of her surprising gender. There is, however, at least one other example of a decree honouring a woman, IG II² 776 (Lawton, 1995a: no. 164). Demos is shown standing, except on DR 10, 33, and 40. The placement of the seated Demos' foot on that of the honorand, on DR 33 (fig. 9.9) suggests that the artist had been constrained by the small compositional space available. On DR 10 (fig. 9.10) Demos is shown in the guise of Zeus, reaching his hand to Korkyra (see also chapter 3, 29), whose appearance here is akin to that of Hera (Lawton, 1995a: 127), as she holds her veil in an *anakalypsis* (unveiling) gesture. This is a common gesture, however, that they share with several other goddesses and personifications, including Boule. On the 'anti-tyranny' decree, DR 40 (fig. 9.11) Demos sits on a throne, while *Demokratia* crowns him.

On all of these reliefs, the mature, bearded Demos wears a *himation* draped over his left shoulder and holds a staff and sometimes an olive (green or gold) crown with which he awards the honorand (Henry, 1983: 22-25). Demos is a possible identification for the bearded man on the reliefs decorating treasury documents: Athens, EM 6605 (IG I³ 99), 7859 (IG II² 1410), NM 1479 (IG II² 1392); and Paris, Louvre MA 831 (IG I³ 375). As Lawton has argued, however, the bearded

⁶ Jean Bingen restored the name of the eponymous archon Kleokrites of 413/2 in line 3, however, which provides a slightly earlier *terminus ante quem* (Bingen, 1991).

man on these reliefs should rather be interpreted as Erekhtheus, the legendary hero whose relevance to Athena and the Akropolis is made explicit in the reliefs with images of Athena, her olive tree, and perhaps even Erekhtheus' daughters (Lawton, 1995a: 53-54, cat. nos. 6, 8, 14, and 20). The Demoi on honorary decrees suggest Demos' appearance on Athens' lost monumental paintings—**MP 2, 6, and 8**—and statues—**S 7, 11, and 15**. Pausanias (1.3.4) locates one of these statues, **S 15**, in the Bouleuterion in Athens' Agora, where it would have brought attention to Demos' important role. Messerschmidt suggests it could have belonged to the Lykourgan development of the Agora, especially in juxtaposition with the statue of Demokratia (perhaps **S 10 and 12**, discussed below, 126) in front of the Stoa Basileos (Messerschmidt, 2003: 20). Such statues at Athens may have inspired the monumental statue group of the Demoi of Athens, Byzantion, and Perinthos, **S 13**, which was to be erected at Byzantion:

Be it resolved by the People of Byzantion and Perinthos to grant to the Athenians rights of... also to erect three statues, sixteen cubits in height, in the Bosphoros, representing the People of Athens being crowned by the Demoi of Byzantion and Perinthos...
(Demosthenes 18.90)

Despite Demosthenes' recording of this resolution, these statues were probably never created, given the submission of the Athenians, and all Greeks, to the Makedonian rulers in the subsequent decade (320s). The placement of statues of the Athenian Demos in faraway places may have been substantiated by worship he began to receive abroad. In his speech *Peri tou stephanou*, (delivered in 330), Demosthenes states that the cities of the Thracian Khersonnesos (Sestos, Elaieus, Madytos, and Alopekonnese) dedicated altars to the Athenian Demos and Kharis (Grace) in response to Makedonian threat (Demosthenes 18.92; on the unreliability of this attestation see Wankel, 1976: 1.499-500).

The personification of Boule (the Athenian Council) may only have appeared in the company of Demos, particularly on documents rati-

fied by these two legislative bodies. Unlike Demos, however, she does not seem to have received a cult. An inscription from 335/4, which records sacred overseers in accordance with the Boule (ἱεροποιοὶ φιλοτιμῶνται πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν...), *IG II² 330.21-22*, has been misinterpreted as indicating a sacred overseer of the cult of Boule. The secure evidence for the personification of Boule (the Athenian Council) is limited to one example, **DR 17 (fig 9.8)**, labelled BOAH, which spelling dates this example to the first half of the fourth century (Lawton, 1995a: 142). On this relief Boule joins Athena, and probably also Demos, to crown an honorand. As mentioned above, Boule probably joins Demos in crowning honorands also on **DR 9, 20, 31, 34,**⁷ and **47**, and perhaps also on **DR 2** (Walter, 1923: 4, see below). Indeed, as Lawton has rightly noted, Boule would not appear without Demos on decree reliefs, as the Council could not act independently of the Demos in ratifying the documents recorded on the reliefs (Lawton, 1995a: 58). By the same standards, it is unlikely that Boule would appear on a *deme* decree, such as **DR 42**: the female figure crowning Hippokles on this decree from Eitea more likely represents a local goddess such as Basile, in whose sanctuary it was set up (Lawton, 1995a: 102). A number of reliefs—**DR 7, 11,**⁸ **13, 18 (fig. 9.12), 21, 29, and 36**—are too fragmentary to yield any evidence of the accompanying personification of Demos. In all but two of these reliefs (**DR 13 and 36**), however, Boule is also accompanied by Athena. The height of Boule is intermediate between that of mortals and Olympian divinities, although, being female, she is generally shown to be a little shorter than Demos. She wears a *khiton* and a *himation* and is veiled. Her appearance is

⁷ The poor state of preservation of **DR 34** has resulted in diverging views on what actually is depicted. The iconography and provenance (Akropolis) make the supposition that Boule and Demos are represented far more likely than Lawton's interpretation of the male figure as a cuirassed warrior and the other figures as Demeter and Kore (Lawton, 1995a: 152).

⁸ The head of the female figure on **DR 11**, which rises nearly to the top of the relief is plausibly identified as that of either Boule or Athena without a helmet (Lawton, 1995a: 131).

similar to that of Hera and indeed Korkyra on **DR 10** (fig. 9.10): she sometimes holds her veil in the *anakalypsis* gesture, perhaps on **DR 2** and **DR 17** (fig. 9.8). Like Demos, Boule awards an olive wreath, as a crown, to the honorand. She holds the crown and places it directly on the head of the honorand, as on **DR 47**. I agree with Otto Walter's identification of the veiled female figure on **DR 2** as Boule both because of the *anakalypsis* gesture and the similarity of this figure to those of Boule on **DR 7** and **DR 17** (Walter, 1923: 10; *contra* Lawton's identification of this figure as Aphrodite, because of her cult association with Hermes: Lawton 1995a: 120). On iconographic grounds, however, I reject Walter's identification of the female figure on **DR 18** (fig. 9.12) as Boule (Walter, 1923: 10). This figure lacks both veil and wreath, nor does she resemble the only securely identified Boule type, exemplified on **DR 17** (fig. 9.8). I have suggested on the basis of iconographic comparison to these document reliefs, especially **DR 23** (fig. 9.14), however, that Boule is shown veiled and holding an olive wreath on a fragment of a monumental relief decorated statue base, **R 6** (fig. 9.13) (Smith, 1997a).⁹ While Boule is unattested in the Classical period, beyond her appearances on (document) reliefs, and never appears outside Athens (Messerschmidt, 2003: 51-52), she is identified by inscription on at least one Athenian lead token (Athens, Numismatic Museum 3086, perhaps used as an admission ticket for the bouleuterion), dating as early as the late fourth century but perhaps later (Postolacca, 1878: 39; Komninos, 1986). Here she is crowned by a nude youth, surely the rejuvenated Demos as he is labelled ΔΗ. This young heroic figure corresponds to and perhaps foreshadows the youthful appearance of Demoi throughout the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period (Messerschmidt, 2003: 23-41) and eventually the

image of the Genius Populi Romani (Spirit of the Roman People).

Decrees issued by individual *demes* of Attika provide an interesting view of the use of personification as it filtered down to the local level: the Boule and Demos of each individual *deme*, whose forms are similar to those of the Demos and Boule of Athens, represent the political assemblies of the local *deme*, and thus serve similar representative functions. Some have seen the earliest extant image of Demos as a young, beardless youth on a relief decorating the Rheitoi Bridge Decree, Eleusis Archaeological Museum 5093 (IG I³ 79), dated to 422/1. In this relief from Eleusis, a youthful male figure, dressed in a *himation*, stands with the Eleusinian divinities, Demeter and Persephone, and the city goddess Athena. If the male figure was meant to represent Demos, as originally suggested by Alexandri-Tzachou, he could not represent the Athenian Demos, for his appearance is far too youthful (Alexandri-Tzachou, 1986b: 378-379 s.v. Demos no. 42). Could this be the Demos of the *deme* of Eleusis, invented for this particular purpose? If so, his youth would suggest that the *deme* of Eleusis was relatively young, as were the *demoi* of Hellenistic and Roman cities such as Aphrodisias: two statues of a youthful (beardless) Demos of Aphrodisias, for example, were found in that city's Bouleuterion (Alexandri-Tzachou, 1986b: 376 s.v. Demos nos. 1-2, pl. 271). Since Eleusis and Athens were joined before the seventh century, however, the distinction between the *demoi* of Eleusis and Athens seems inconsequential. A simpler explanation is that he represents one of the youths that we encounter elsewhere in Eleusinian iconography: Eumolpos (who became the first priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries), Ploutos (Wealth), or Triptolemos, the son of Keleus, a legendary King of Eleusis (Apolodoros 1.5.1). On iconographic grounds, I agree with Harrison that he is indeed Eumolpos (Harrison, 2000: 277). A labeled Demos is shown on the relief of a decree probably from the *deme* Aixone, **DR 37**. He must represent the Demos of Aixone. As a parallel to this relief, the Demos of Akharnai may be shown also on **DR 45**. This latter *deme* decree is comparable in style and composition to a

⁹ As the findspot is unknown, this work has not been considered in the corpus of Athenian fourth century works. Budde and Nicholls 1967, 18, compared it to a work from a Theban workshop (a votive relief, Athens, NM 1140; Svoronos, 1903-1937: 440, pl. 72). The marble and workmanship, however, seem to me to be comparable to the best of the Athenian fourth-century works.

deme decree from Eitea, **DR 42**, whose honorand is crowned by a female figure. It is unlikely that this female represents Eitea's Boule, who, like Athens' Boule, is irrelevant to honorary decrees, as neither awarded honours (on *deme* decrees see Lasagni, 2004). Her form does not, in any case, suit the iconography of Boule, who is normally veiled. She is certainly larger than the honorand and therefore not a mortal, but probably a local goddess, perhaps Basile (as noted in chapter 8, 84). Similarly, the female figure on an honorary *phyle* decree, issued by the *phyle* of Aiantis, **DR 39**, is a local figure, namely the (labeled) personification of the island, Salamis, as noted below, 104.

Personifications of cities and regions outside Attika

Despite the desire on the part of most fourth-century Athenians, and other Greeks, for Panhellenic unity, a united Greece eluded them in the Classical period. Perhaps this explains why the personification of all of Greece (Hellas) is only known once in the arts of late Classical Athens, on **S 9** (see the discussion of Arete in chapter 11, 124), despite the manifold written sources on Hellas personified (Aiskhylos, *Persai* 181-196; Aristoteles, *Rhetorika* 3.10.1411a.31-34; Euripides, *Helene* 370-374; Lysias 2.60; Timotheos, *Persai* frs. 788-790 Page, *PMG*). The Greeks in the Classical period worked towards peace and Panhellenic unity through the negotiation and signing of a plethora of treaties, many of which were published in Athens (and apparently duplicated in the foreign *poleis*), as well as economic agreements for which the foreigners were given public honours commemorated with decorated stelai on which Demos and Boule were often shown. The local personifications of regions and cities are found occasionally in Attic vase painting at the end of the fifth century, but were also pictured at the same time in statues and on reliefs that decorated published treaty documents. This trend may have continued later, although there are fewer examples dating to the second and third quarters of the fourth century. The personi-

fications might logically represent entire regions, on decrees related to agreements with regional alliances, or individual cities, if the agreements were between Athens and the individual *poleis*. Just as Athens could be represented by Athena or her Demos, so could another *polis* be represented by a (female) local personification or the (male) personification of its citizenry. This tendency is echoed in contemporary literature. In Eupolis' *Poleis* (*Cities*) at least three foreign city-states were paraded in the form of women (members of a chorus of 24: Rosen, 1997) in front of a (bemused) audience, "Gentlemen, scrutineers of the choruses under review..." (fr. 239 KA, trans. Storey, 2003: 22):

- A. She is Tenos, with many scorpions, and you have informers.
 - B. She is Khios, a fair city, for she sends you warships and men whenever there is need, and she obeys well in all situations, like a horse that does not need a whip.
 - A. Where is the last one?
 - B. She is Kyzikos, full of staters.
 - A. Indeed, on guard duty once in that city I screwed a woman, a boy, and an old man, all for a penny. I could have spent the whole day cleaning out cunts.
- (Frs. 245-247 KA, trans. Storey, 2003: 22)

Two non-Athenian cities are represented in Attic vase paintings dating from 440 to 390. A woman named Nikopolis (Victory City) is represented twice. The first use of this civic-minded name is for a female musician on a *hydria* in Athens attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (440-430), Athens, NM 1260 (ARV² 1060.145; BA 213777). If this is the name of a real woman here represented, it is interesting that she was given a name that evoked civic victory. This representation can be dismissed from our consideration of local personifications, as no city named Nikopolis is known to have existed in mainland Greece until Octavian (later Augustus) established his city in Aitolia, after his victory at Aktion (31) (for the personification of this city on Roman coins see Oeconomides-Caramessini, 1992: 906). Likewise Nikopolis' later appearance, on a fragment of a *lekanis* lid in Ullastret, 410-400, **VP 47**, was probably not meant to represent an actual city

(fig. 9.15). (For alternate readings of Nikopolis as Nike and Aike see CVA Musée Monographique d'Ullastret 1 [1984] 37 and Huber, 1989: 613; for Dike see Shapiro, 1986c: 389 s.v. Dike no. 4, following Olmos, 1977-1978: 471). On this painting, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, Nikopolis, perhaps the representative of a successful city, consorts with the civic personifications, Eunomia (Good Order) and Eukleia (Good Repute). This may be an allusion to the hope that Athens would emerge victorious from the Peloponnesian War.

Actual cities are also personified in Athenian art. On the Meidian plate in Leuven, VP 28, Epidauros is personified as a lithe female who looks like the personifications of abstractions (Eudaimonia and perhaps Eukleia) around her (fig. 5.14). She is differentiated only by her label and the fact that she carries the child Asklepios, the god whose primary sanctuary she hosted. This is the only known personification of Epidauros (Yalouris, 1986: 803) and Asklepios' only appearance as a toddler. As the plate is stylistically dated to the years immediately following the introduction of the Epidaurian cult of Asklepios to Athens (in 420/19), it must certainly commemorate that event (as discussed above, 72). The message seems clear, that Epidauros' gift to Athens of (the cult of) Asklepios will bring the city prosperity and probably happiness. An unusual cup in Boston, VP 53, produced several decades later, probably in the 390s, represents a female figure named Sparta descending from a horse (fig. 9.16). This is the only personification of Sparta from Classical Athens (Larson, 2001: 152; Kourinou-Pikoula, 1994: 803-804). She approaches a low altar, perhaps in order to swear to a truce. Sir John Beazley has connected the vase with a philo-Lakonian mood in Athens in 403/402 (Caskey & Beazley, 1931-1963: 3.91). An optimistic reading of the vase seems unwarranted, however, as she turns away from the 'altar,' and thus appears to approach reluctantly. This might reflect the quandary in which Sparta found herself at the resumption of warfare (395) in the Korinthian War.

The earliest document relief that depicts a local personification is DR 1, which probably dates to the 410s (fig. 9.17).¹⁰ A fragment preserves what seems to be a small part of the header of a treaty and the top half of a female figure who seems to be crowning someone. She is labeled ΜΕΣΣ[...], probably the local personification of Sicilian Messana (Caccamo Caltabiano, 1992: 556; Larson, 2001: 219). On the basis of the extant inscription, this female figure might also be the local personification of Peloponnesian Messene (Ganschow, 1992: 558-559). She resembles the local personification found in a (lost) cult statue (Pausanias 4.31.11) and on contemporary coins from Sicilian Messana (Caccamo Caltabiano, 1983 and 1988: 43) with a *polos* on her head and hands extended to hold the reins of a *biga* of mules. These coins represent the (labelled) personification(s) of Messana and Pelorias (the cape of land just North of the town); Pelorias may be indicated by the label ΙΙΕ[...] below the right hand of the figure on DR 1. A relief decorating a document dated to 406/5 (DR 4) also preserves a label, ΚΙΟΣ (fig. 9.18). The location of the inscription, adjacent to the small male figure with whom Athena shakes hands, strongly indicates that he is meant to represent the local personification of the Bithynian city (*contra* Rauscher, 1971: 153-154, who reads the label as ΙΚΙΟΣ, and thus identifies the figure as a citizen of Euboean Ikos). Kios also happens to be the eponymous founder of the city (Strabon 12.4.3; Weiss, 1992). The *dexiosis* or handshake is the most significant iconographic element: it would indicate to the Athenian

¹⁰ The triple-barred sigma is dated by Meritt and Wade-Gery (1963: 115-17) to 446/45 at the latest, so they take this relief to relate to the settlement of the Messenians at Naupaktos. Harold Mattingly has suggested, however, that the fragment relates rather to the Sicilian Messana, which arranged an alliance with Athens in 427/26, according to Thukydides 3.90.4 (Mattingly, 1966: 186-187). This later date is corroborated by the style of the relief, as exemplified in the prominence of the left hip, the transparency of the drapery, and the v-folds that are reminiscent of the drapery on the peplophoroi from the Parthenon frieze and the Erekhtheion caryatids. According to either chronology, the female figure is taken to be a local personification.

viewers that an agreement had been reached between Athens and this foreign *polis*. The handshake, as a visual indication of *philia* or friendship, would strike a chord with the Athenian audience whom such images may have persuaded to see positive results in her foreign policy (see a similar reading of *dexiosis* on Athens, AM 1333, in Blanshard, 2007: 33). A Sicilian personification (unlabeled) likewise clasps hands with Athena on a decree, dated securely to 394/3 by the inscription, regarding Dionysios I of Syrakousa (*IG* II² 18). This relief, Athens, EM 6899, probably illustrates a local personification from Syrakousa (Lawton, 1995a: 90-91 no. 16, pl. 9), either Syrakousa or Sikelia, a personification of the island, which Dionysios I and Syrakousa controlled at that time. The spring, Arethousa, rather than Syrakousa or Sikelia, however, was shown on contemporary coins of Syrakousa, with which the sculptors in Athens may have familiarised themselves (see Cahn, 1993). Given the generic appearance of this female figure, who is not distinguished by attributes, as was Messana, it is most likely that the sculptors designed an unspecified female figure who would be understood by the Athenian population as some Sicilian divinity, heroine, or personification. Again, as in the case of **DR 4**, the iconography of the handshake would be more easily recognised than the identity of the personification. The female figure at the centre of **DR 6**, which decorates a decree that honoured the Thracian King of the Odrysai, Heryzelmis, is probably also a local personification, heroine, or divinity. This document, which dates to 386/5, is dissimilar to all honorary document reliefs, and is itself badly preserved. The horsemen may be representatives of Thrake, a region known for horse breeding. Perhaps the female is a goddess whom the horsemen approach, in adoration, although compositional parallels such as the Dioskouroi and Helene reliefs (especially abundant in Sparta) serve as warning against such hierarchical interpretations.

A decree that honours King Euagoras of Cypriot Salamis, **DR 5**, is surmounted by a relief that may depict the local personification of that city, Salamis (**fig. 9.19**). The female figure that

has been identified as Salamis on this monument, also dated to 394/3, is the only figure preserved from this relief. She stands at the far right, presumably watching King Euagoras receiving his honours: the state of preservation (only the lower part of her skirt remains) prohibits further iconographic interpretation.¹¹ Perhaps the sculptor included the local personification as a reminder that the honours pertained to a foreign *polis*. An honorary decree that was issued by a particular *phyle* (Aiantis) rather than by a *deme*, instead bears an image of the labeled, local personification of the island, Salamis, on its relief (**DR 39**). Despite the poor condition of the relief, and particularly the figure of Salamis, it seems that this female personification was shown crowning the honorand, thereby functioning like Boule and Demos. The extant inscription of this decree is limited to part of the name of the arkhon, but is probably a *phyle* decree, because it was found in the vicinity of the Eurysakeion, in the Agora, where the *phyle* Aiantis customarily published its records (Meyer, 1989: 287-288 A 77; Wycherley, 1957: 90-93). If the decree indeed related to an honour given by a *phyle*, a personification of a Demos would have been inappropriate. Rather than representing the unfamiliar personification of the *phyle*, the sculptor may have rather substituted the familiar figure of Salamis, the personification of the traditional home of the Aiantis tribe, as the giver of the award, and labeled this figure to emphasise her true identity. Salamis, the personification, was known from the famous early Classical statue recorded by Herodotos in commemoration of the battle of Salamis, **S 1**

¹¹ The stele may have related to Euagoras' backing of the exiled Konon in his victories against Sparta and allies in 394/93 (Euagoras was granted Athenian citizenship, as mentioned in *IG* I³ 113 [*SEG* 46.43]; Isokrates 9.54). According to the text, the stele was to be set up before the *agalma* (statue). While Lawton (1995a, 122) conjectured an as yet unidentified *agalma* (of Athena Promakhos?) on the Akropolis, where the earlier decree honouring Euagoras was found (fragment c of **DR 5** was found on the South Slope), David Lewis and Ronald Stroud remind us that a statue of Zeus Eleutherios was set up in the Agora, near the statue of Euagoras himself (Isokrates 9.57; Pausanias 1.3.2); Lewis and Stroud 1979, 181.

(discussed above, in chapter 3, 33), but also from a late fourth century statue dedicated by the cavalrymen of the island of Salamis, **S 11**, whose base, *IG II²* 1955 (now lost), was found and recorded at the end of the nineteenth century (Manakidou, 1994: 652 s.v. Salamis no. 3).

Local personifications of other Greek cities may also be represented on document reliefs dating to the second quarter of the fourth century: Korkyra on **DR 10** (fig. 9.10) and Aphytis on **DR 16**. Lawton strongly argues for her identification of the central figure on **DR 10** as Hera Akraia (Lawton, 1995a: 127), the goddess with the most important cult at Korkyra (Thoukydides 1.24; 3.75; 79-81; Diodoros of Sicily 12.48): Hera appears similarly on **DR 15**, with Zeus, so the male figure on **DR 10** might then be identified as Zeus, in parallel with this scene. The lack of attributes hinders a sure identification but it is doubtful that he represents Demos, as his *himation* is only draped about his waist, rather than over the left shoulder or arm, as befits a respectable 'citizen' like Demos; his attire is closer to that of the seated male figures on the treasury decrees, e.g. Athens, EM 7859, who are now taken to be heroes (such as Kekrops) rather than Demoi. The extant relief on **DR 16** is incomplete, but the personification of Aphytis there is more secure, thanks to a label. The inscriptions, ΑΦΥΤ[...] and [...]ΑΙΩΝ appear in the field, lower left and lower right respectively. The genitive (possessive) form of the second inscription suggests that both labels might have been in the genitive case and, as on coins, referred to the 'ownership' of the (plural) populace. Even if this is the case then the female figure might be an unnamed local personification, heroine, or deity. Too little is known of the religious history of this Aphytis, however, for us to claim or deny her potential identification as a deity.

While the personifications of cities and islands are given feminine identities, according to the feminine gender of the words for city and island—ἡ πόλις and ἡ νῆσος respectively—as well as the gender of most of their names, Athenian sculptors also represented Greek cities with the masculine Demoi of their respective peoples,

according to a strict reading of the gender of ὁ δῆμος, the masculine noun that refers to a collective people. The most secure attestation of this tendency is Demosthenes' record of the agreement made between Athens and the *poleis* of the Khersonnesos (**S 13**, discussed above, 100) to represent the Demoi of Athens, Byzantion, and Perinthos in a colossal statuary group. The Demoi of foreign cities—Troizen and Samos—may also be represented on two fourth century decrees (which are excluded from my catalogue because they cannot be securely associated with Athens or Athenian artists): Poros Museum 575, a relief depicting Athena and Demos (of Troizen?) that decorates a decree regarding a law *re* Ekhilaos from Plataiai, c. 320 (Meyer, 1989: 318 N 10, pl. 54.1, 55.1; Delivorrias, 1984b: 35 s.v. Aphrodite no. 238); and Samos Archaeological Museum J 837, a relief depicting a seated Demos (of Samos) and an honorand, decorate a later decree honouring a man from Kardia (314-306) (Meyer, 1989: 319 N 12).

The evidence for the personifications of regions in Athenian art is tenuous. Perhaps Peloponnesos is personified on the relief decorating an alliance decree between Athens and the Peloponnesian states, dating to the 360s (**DR 15**). Like the Greek word for island (ἡ νῆσος), and the names of most islands, Peloponnesos (ἡ Πελοπόννησος) is a feminine noun, and would be embodied as a woman (the Peloponnesos, a peninsula, is technically a large island, which is reflected in the etymology of her name) (LSJ⁹ s.v. νῆσος and s.v. Πελοπόννησος). The woman thought to represent the Peloponnesos, the region of mainland Greece that was under Spartan hegemony through the first quarter of the fourth century, stands between Athena and Zeus on this relief. Athena clearly represents Athens in this context, while the seated figure of Zeus may be included in a general sense, as the god of oaths (Zeus Horkios) or as the patron deity of much of the Peloponnesos (Burkert, 1985: 130). The third figure looks like Hera. She wears a *peplos* and a *himation* veiled over her head, and holds a sceptre in her left hand, while she raises her right hand to her veil in an *anakalypsis* or unveiling

gesture that suggests her relation through marriage to the figure on her right. Boule would be inappropriate, as the Athenian council did not directly decree matters of international concern in the fourth century, but played a subsidiary role by ensuring that matters of policy established by the *ekklesia* were carried out (Rhodes, 1972: 87). Besides, Boule does not usually hold a sceptre, and this figure's scale is comparable to that of Athena, whereas personifications were generally shown to be smaller than the Olympian divinities. I therefore prefer to interpret this figure as Hera, whose unveiling gesture is directed at her divine husband, Zeus: Hera's presence as the consort of Zeus would not be surprising, and she was a patron divinity of some of the Peloponnesian states, such as Argos.

Olga Palagia has suggested that the female figure on a decree relief, **DR 23** (fig. 9.14) that honours a Makedonian military figure is the personification of the region Makedonia (Palagia, 1998: 19-20, 23, following Lawton, 1995a: 142). Palagia points to the Makedonian nature of the honorand's costume to bolster her specific identification of the personification. It is normal for local personifications who identify the locus of the scene to play secondary roles. This figure's role is not secondary, however, as she and Athena frame the honorand, as is generally the case with multiple gods/personifications giving honours. Her clothing and posture (she may have held a crown in her right hand) are rather similar to those of Boule, who would be relevant to the function of this honorary decree. Makedonia is the most likely identity also of the large, seated, female figure in the lower right of the back of the name vase of the Eleusinian Painter in St. Petersburg, **VP 69** (fig. 9.20). The iconographic clues to her identity are her Makedonian diadem and the Makedonian star on Hermes' petasos.¹² The star conflates Hermes with the

Makedonian kings, perhaps Alexandros the Great himself.¹³ Palagia has told me that the figure on **VP 69** cannot be interpreted as Makedonia because she does not wear the *kausia*, or Makedonian hat. Yet her identification of the personification on **DR 23** as Makedonia is based not on the clothing of the personification (who wears neither diadem nor *kausia*) but on the clothing of the male honorand on that relief (Palagia, 1998: 19-20).

Local personifications in the public eye

By the end of the fifth century local personifications began to appear in explicitly public contexts and on publicly commissioned art, on document reliefs, which are thought to have been commissioned by the state (Lawton, 1995a: 24-26), as well as statues in the round (**S 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13** and **15**). It is clear that a wide audience was envisaged for most fourth-century personifica-

another differently coloured element atop her diadem, that is often, but incorrectly interpreted as a *kausia*, or Makedonian hat). The only held attribute of 'Makedonia' on the *pelike*, a tympanon, also compares favourably to the Makedonian shield of the Boscoreale figure, as either could be identified as a tympanon or a shield. The tympanon belongs to Kybele, or the mother of the gods, in different contexts. It is, however, in the late Classical/early Hellenistic period, that local personifications, especially Tykhe, began to take on the attributes of Kybele, with whom they were conflated in the Greek East. It is interesting to note also the marked similarity between the posture of the hunched, seated female figure on the front of this vase (Rhea, according to Simon), and the Boscoreale figure to the right of 'Makedonia,' often identified as Asia; it would not be surprising if this vase painting reflected the same original monumental painting that scholars have hypothesized was 'copied' on that later wall painting at Boscoreale. The latter was originally conjectured to be Makedonia, shown to be slightly superior to Asia, by Fittschen, 1975: 94-96, pl. 71. Müller, 1994, rejects the interpretation that this scene illustrates Makedonia. He reverts to the reading of the figure as male, on the basis of her attributes, and despite her obvious breasts, but he fails to come up with a convincing alternative identification.

¹³ No literary source attests Alexandros' involvement with the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the first Makedonian ruler who was initiated was Demetrios Poliorketes. Yet it seems likely that as the 'new Herakles,' and as a ruler obsessed with religious propriety, Alexandros would have been initiated into the Mysteries (see Edmunds, 1971). I thank Andrew Stewart for bringing this source to my attention.

¹² This 'Makedonia' compares favourably to the left-hand figure from panel E of the *oecus* at Boscoreale. Not only are the poses of these two figures identical but their clothing is also similar, right down to the soft, wrapped, Makedonian diadem (although the Boscoreale figure bears

tions. The Athenian public had become accustomed to them through their popularisation, in comedies and on painted vases, during the Peloponnesian War. Demos had already become well known in cult as well as arts, but most other local personifications—for whom there are no known mythologies or cult attestations at Attika—were spontaneously invented by the artists.

The growing use of local personifications in Attic arts from the fifth to the fourth centuries disseminated the use of visual personifications as a useful shorthand throughout the entire Greek world. Local personifications of foreign cities that appear on document reliefs would have been more intelligible than foreign deities to the Athenian audience. Through the allegorical context of the images, personifications would enable Greeks to recognise themselves and each other, just as they had enabled Athenians to recognise representatives of foreign *poleis* on their artworks. On reliefs decorating treaty documents, for example, it would have been readily understood that the figure shaking hands with Athena was a representative of the city with whom the decree was established. Honourary decrees, on which personifications of representative bodies of the Athenian people appeared, are sometimes domestic in nature, but mostly relate to inter-

national affairs: they honour *xenoi*, foreigners, as well as Athenians (Lawton, 1995a: 27). Many reliefs were supposed to have been duplicated for display in the relevant foreign *poleis*. The duplicated reliefs are not actually attested, but provisions for the duplication of stelai are made in several documents (Blanshard, 2007: 21-28, following Lawton, 1995a: 17-18): a treaty between Athens and Thrakian Neapolis, Athens, EM 6598 (IG I³ 101; Lawton, 1995a: 85-86 no. 7), dating to 410/9; and a treaty between Athens and Samos, Athens, AM 1333 (IG I³ 127, II² 1; Lawton, 1995a: 88-89 no. 12), dating to 403/2. Two documents with 'foreign' personifications on their reliefs, **DR 40** (fig. 9.11) and **DR 47**, moreover, were duplicated for display in Athens. Whether they decorated treaties or honours, therefore, document reliefs spread the use of visual personifications far beyond Athens. The increasing abundance in fourth-century Athens of such explicitly public art—art commissioned by the government for public display—indicates that art had become an established medium through which to communicate a message to the populace. The inclusion of personifications of political institutions on this art reflects a converging relationship between political thought and public art.

CHAPTER TEN

THE MOTHER OF WEALTH: EIRENE REVISITED

Late Classical (4th-century) Athens' preoccupation with a Panhellenic peace—and the economic wealth that it would bring—is reflected in Athenian art. The actual *eirene* (peace), however, eluded Athens. Ploutos (Wealth) was to be Eirene's gift that would save the people. Is it no wonder then, that Ploutos and, by association, Eirene, were absorbed into the Eleusinian Mysteries, a cult that provided a religious salvation? Ploutos' iconography becomes confused with that of Triptolemos, Dionysos, and other divine children, while Eirene's image is confused with that of other maternal goddesses, especially Ge (Earth) and Demeter herself. An overview of the Greek attempts at peace will illuminate the historical circumstances that led to the popularity of Ploutos and his many mothers.

In their negotiations in 404, at the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens and Sparta aimed in vain for “peace and reconciliation” (τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις) (*Athenaion politeia* 38.4; both of these terms are also used in Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.4.38: οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους; see Cloché, 1915: 242–244). Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, (re)produced in 388, attests the financial desperation of the Athenian populace at this time. Meanwhile Athens allied herself variously with Argos, Korinthos, and Thebes (she even received support from Persia) and continued to fight Sparta and her allies through the Korinthian War. This war culminated in the King's peace of 387/6, which nominally gave the Greek states autonomy (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.1.29 purports to record the peace treaty). Sparta dutifully kept out of Asian affairs under the King's peace but continued aggression against states in the Peloponnesos. At this point Athens 'back burned' the Asian threat, and forgot her imperialistic concerns: even Demosthenes disapproves

of imperialism regarding the trial and condemnation of Agyrrhios and Thrasyboulos of Kolytos, two of the principal imperialists from the Korinthian War (24.134–135; for more on peace in the later Classical period see Hunt, 2010). Athens rather set about finding a saviour or a state that might lead her and the Greek *poleis* through the crisis of disunity. In his *Panegyrikos* (380) Isokrates argued that this imagined saviour, perhaps even Sparta, would bring about, and serve as guardian to, a lasting peace (Isokrates 4.175; see also Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.1.36). This need for a political saviour may have encouraged those who still hoped that Athens might lead a second Athenian (naval) League (sworn in the summer of 378) (Hornblower, 1983: 208–209). This second League brought about a renewed alliance between Athens and Thebes (in 377) against Sparta, for the sake of peace, according to the 'Charter' of the Second Athenian Confederacy (378/7):

...in order that the Spartans may allow the Greeks to be at peace in freedom and autonomy, possessing all their lands in security, and in order that the common peace which the Greeks and the King swore may be valid and may continue in accordance with the agreements.

(IG II² 43 [Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 22; Tod 123.9–15], trans. Davies, 1978: 213)

In the 370s Athens and her confederacy whittled away at the Spartan army, through military victories (such as the battles of Naxos in 376 and Alyzia in 375) and short-lived peace treaties, culminating in the renewal, in 371, of the Common peace (Cawkwell 1981, 1973, and 1963). The Athenian interest in the so-called peace of Kallias was primarily financial: the imperial coffers had quickly dwindled in the 370s. But the 'peace' rather instigated Theban animosity towards Sparta, and indirectly brought on the Battle of Leuktra (371). The Battle of Leuktra

decisively ended the Spartan threat, but it strained the alliance between Athens and Thebes, and ushered in the era of Theban hegemony (360s) (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.4.4-20; Diodoros of Sicily 15.52-56).

The onset of the Second Athenian League (378) was thus a turning point. Although Athens had been preoccupied with military affairs, *vis-à-vis* Sparta, in the first two decades of the fourth century, after the 370s she turned her efforts towards a lasting Panhellenic peace, economic stability, and autonomy.

Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos

The worship of Eirene began at Athens in 375/4, after Timotheos' victory over the Spartans at Alyzia, according to late sources (e.g., Philokhoros, 328 F 151 *FGrH*). Cornelius Nepos mentions "...so great was the joy of the Athenians at this victory that they first made public altars to Eirene and instituted a couch (*pulvinar*)¹ for the goddess" (*Timotheos* 2.2). In his life of *Kimón*, however, Ploutarkhos tells us that an altar was dedicated to Eirene after the Battle of the Eurymedon (466) (Ploutarkhos, *Kimón* 13.6). As Shapiro suggests, Ploutarkhos may have "...confused the events of 466 with those of 375/4, when both the altar and Kephisodotos' statue would have been put up to commemorate a peace treaty with Sparta" (Shapiro, 1993: 45). Isokrates coincidentally notes that Eirene's public worship at the *Synoikia*, on *Hekatombaion* 16, began with the peace of 375/4 (Isokrates 15.109-111). Her worship at this festival continued well beyond this time, as attested by a scholiast (on Aristophanes, *Eirene* 1020) and an inscription, *IG II²* 1496 c. 127, which records sacrifices to Eirene at this festival's occurrence in 332/1. The *Synoikia*—which would have been the first significant festival of the Attic year, preceding even the Panathenaia—had been a festival to

Athena, which commemorated the political union of Attika. Thoukydides (2.15.2) dates its origins from the time of Theseus (see also Ploutarkhos, *Theseus* 12.1; Parke, 1977: 31-33; and Sourvinou-Inwood, 2000: 29). The date of the festival, just after the grain harvest, however, would have been an apt time to worship Eirene in her fruitful capacity. As Gabriel Herman notes, "This [sacrifice to Eirene at the *Synoikia*] has been interpreted as meaning that the old idea of civic unity that was the original source of Athens' power was deliberately combined with the ideal of peace to express Athens' attitude towards the other Greek states" (2006: 338, following Parker, 1996: 230).

Eirene's receipt of a cult in the late 370s seems to have sparked her reappearance in the arts of Athens. Pausanias tells us that Kephisodotos of Athens made a statue of her holding the child Ploutos (Wealth) that was placed in the Agora (S 4; Pausanias 9.16.2). Elsewhere, Pausanias provides a more precise location: "After the statues of the eponymous heroes, there are images of gods, namely Amphiaraios and Eirene carrying the child Wealth" (Pausanias 1.8.3). Noel Robertson conjectures that this statue and a late fourth-century altar had been transplanted from Eirene's earlier cult centre in the supposed 'Old Agora' (east of the Akropolis) in the Roman period (1992: 56-57; on the altar see also Shear, 1981: 365). Whereas Kephisodotos' statue has been traditionally connected with the onset of worship of Eirene in 375/4, I would connect its creation with the peace negotiated in 371—between Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and others—as Athens instigated that peace conference. The statue need not be connected with the inception of cult, however, because it was not a cult statue. Yet a date in the 370s is corroborated by the career of the sculptor, whose *floruit* Plinius places in 372 or the 102nd Olympiad (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 36.50). Scholars have long supposed that this (lost) statue of Eirene and Ploutos was the model for 13 Roman marble copies (S 4a-f, h-m), the best of which is in Munich (S 4h, fig. 2.1). Andreas Rumpf's suggestion (Rumpf, 1956) that the Munich statue, S 4h, rather copied Praxiteles' Tykhe ('from Athens'), S 8, was dismissed by

¹ While Nepos may have mentioned the *pulvinar* to indicate that Eirene received other cultic paraphernalia at this time, Simon suggests that it indicates Eirene's presence at a *theoxenia* or ritual banquet in her honour (1986: 701).

Arne Effenberger, who pointed out that no extant sources attest a Praxitelean statue from Athens (Effenberger, 1971: 125-128) and finally disproven by the discovery of a series of Panathenaic *amphorae* dated to 360/59, **VP 60-67**,² that provides Greek evidence for the original form of the statue and a suitable *terminus ante quem*. The vase painters showed Kephisodotos' statue group on top of the tall Ionic columns on the front of at least one series of Panathenaic prize *amphorae* (in the arkhonship of Kallimedes, 360/59) that have been found close to Athens (**figs. 10.1-2**). Their findspots—perhaps one in Eleusis and at least five in Eretria, on the nearby island of Euboia—are a reminder that the Panathenaic games (as compared to the Panhellenic events) mostly appealed to the population in and around Attika. The use of these *amphorae* as memorabilia for the victors—objects through which one might remember the games in particular, and Athens more generally—was clearly not lost on the artists and the *agonothetai* (games organisers) supervising their creation. The choice of which statues—presumably Athenian ones—to depict on each quadrennial series of Panathenaic *amphorae* was a conscious decision that in some way reflected the interests of its Athenian organisers. Helmut Jung's downdating of the statue to the time of the Panathenaics (Jung, 1976: 113) is too late on stylistic grounds and Plinius' testimony, but is also unnecessary: the intervening decade would have given the statue enough time to become a landmark of Athens, appropriate for depiction on Panathenaics.

The images on the vase paintings offer us little insight into the actual appearance of the statue group (**figs. 10.1-2**). Allowing for some variation among depictions, however, it is clear that Eirene must have originally held a sceptre in her left hand. This attribute is missing from the sculpted copies.

Kephisodotos' statue was copied on later gems and coins (e.g. *BMC Attica* 109, 801, pl. 19.5), as well as in the paintings and Roman marble replicas (Simon, 1986: 702): a now lost gem, **S 4g**, may have rather copied the statue of Tykhe and Ploutos, **S 6** (discussed below, 113). What is made clearer in the sculptures, however, is the novelty of Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos, in that it showed the expression of personal affection. This affection is, in fact, the binding force in the composition (Pollitt, 1972: 152). Eirene tilts her head to look tenderly at Ploutos, while he, simultaneously playful and needy, reaches up to her, with his arm and his gaze. Ploutos cradles a *keras*, a horn of plenty, in his left arm.³ The sources for this statue do not specify Eirene's relationship to Ploutos; her role, posture, and matronly *peplos*, however, suggest that she is not just the *kourotrophos* (nourisher) but also the mother of Ploutos. The combination of the two is unprecedented in art, but it is consistent with Eirene's role as a fertility deity in the fifth century, expressed through her association with Dionysos and Opora (Harvest), as well as her long-standing role as one of the Horai (Seasons), as I have discussed in chapter 7. The logical connection of the concepts of Eirene and Ploutos is made as early as Homeros—"...and let them have prosperity and peace in abundance" (Homeros, *Odyssey* 24.486)—although neither is personified in this case. Pindaros (*Olympionike* 13.6) and Bakchylides (*Paianes* 4.61-62; *Carmina popularia* fr. 1d Diehl), both fifth century poets, state explicitly that Eirene is the mother of Ploutos. And later in the century Euripides connects peace with wealth, in the *Kresphontes* fragment cited in chapter 7, 78, and more explicitly in *Bakchhai* (produced in 405), where Eirene is named as the giver of wealth (Ὀλβοδότειραν Εἰρήναν: Euripides, *Bakchhai* 418-419).

² In my catalogue I exclude three additional fragments in this series of Panathenaics that show Ploutos and Eirene, because they do not preserve much of the image of the statue: Athens, Agora P 27082-83 and Eretria (no inv. no. known), a fragment found in the Mosaic house (Bentz, 1998: 173 nos. 4.058-59 and 4.061).

³ When Antiphanes calls the animal horn, later known as cornucopia, Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, in *Hippeis* (fr. 108 KA), in the early fourth century, he refers to nymph Amaltheia who possessed a bull's horn—perhaps that torn by Herakles from the river god, Akheloös—that provided an endless supply of nourishment. The earliest extant source for this legend is Kallimakhos, *Hymnoi* 1.48.

The choice of Kephisodotos' Eirene and Ploutos more than ten years after the statue's original creation would have been an obvious case of propaganda, intended to show that the Athenians were a peace loving people, despite Athens' defensive land expeditions in the Peloponnesos throughout the 360s (Davies, 1978: 221-222).

Wealth and Fortune

Ploutos, the personification of Wealth, is best known from Aristophanes' last play, *Ploutos* (dated to 388), but probably also appeared in the fifth century, in Sophokles' *Inakhos* (fr. 273, 275, 283 Radt) and Kratinos' *Ploutoi* (171-179 KA), and later in the fourth century comedies of Amphis (*Kouris* fr. 23 KA) and Antiphanes (fr. 259 KA). Without quite putting Ploutos on stage, Euripides had Kyklops assert his divinity (perhaps in 408: Seaford, 1982): "Wealth is the god for the wise; the others are boasts and nice sounding words" (Euripides, *Kyklops* 316-317).

Literary and visual sources indicate also that Eirene was not the only goddess/personification implicated as the mother of Ploutos in fourth century Attika. At least once he was connected with Tykhe (Fortune), and more consistently with Demeter and the Eleusinian thiasos. There is only one fifth-century image of Ploutos. He is labelled on an Attic *khous*, attributed to the Group of Athens 12144, 410-400, that clearly celebrates a victory: Berlin Museums F 2661 (fig. 10.3). Ploutos and his companion, Khrysos (Gold, also a boy), join Nike (Victory) in this image (*contra* the earlier suggestion that Khrysos was a victorious girl in a beauty contest [Baron von Stackelberg, 1837: 15]). Together they allude to wealth and gold as benefits of victory. Pausanias tells us of a freestanding statue of Ploutos in the arms of Tykhe (Fortune), S 6, now lost but similar to, and possibly contemporary with Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos, to which he compares it (9.16.2; trans. Pollitt, 1990: 83), as follows:

...there is a sanctuary of Tyche [at Thebes]. She carries the child Ploutos. The Thebans say that the hands and the face of the image were done by

Xenophon and the rest by Kallistonikos, a local man. It was a clever design on the part of these artists—that is, putting Ploutos in the hands of Tyche as if she were his mother or nurse; but no less clever was the design of Kephisodotos. For he made the image for the Athenians of Eirene holding Ploutos.

Although he credits a local Theban artist, Kallistonikos, with much of the work on S 6, Pausanias attributes the carved stone parts that required greater skill—the hands and face—to Xenophon of Athens. It is likely then that the 'clever' design, which Pausanias compares to Kephisodotos' statue (S 4), should also be attributed to Xenophon, the Athenian artist. It is clear that Pausanias had not simply confused the two statues, for he directly compared them. His separate mention (1.18.3) of a now lost statue of Eirene, along with one of Hestia, in the Prytaneion, in the Agora, S 14, might rather suggest his confusion regarding the location of Kephisodotos' statue:

Nearby is the Prytaneion, in which the laws of Solon are inscribed. In it are also images of the goddesses Eirene and Hestia [Hearth], and statues of the pankratiast Autolykos and other people.

Pausanias confirms (8.30.10) that Kephisodotos and Xenophon were contemporaries, in noting their collaboration on the cult statues in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis, S 5. It is thus likely that Xenophon's Tykhe and Ploutos was created in the same period as Kephisodotos' Eirene and Ploutos. But Xenophon's statue may have followed the more famous Athenian work by a decade or two, because Fortune and Wealth were more relevant to Theban affairs in the 360s and 350s than they had been in the 370s (when the Kephisodotos' Eirene was probably erected). Perhaps Xenophon's Tykhe and Ploutos even imitated Kephisodotos' more famous statue. In each case the composition would have emphasised the age gap and the dependence of Ploutos on the goddess; both Eirene and Tykhe, as mothers, would have been dressed in *peploi* and *himatia*. Ploutos' appearance as a toddler should then have been similar, if not identical, on the two works. Eirene has no salient attribute except the child Ploutos. Although Tykhai from around the Greek world adopted various headdresses and

other attributes (Matheson ed., 1994), the common attribute of Tykhe in fourth-century Athenian art (mostly reliefs) is the *keras* or horn of plenty, as on **R 3** (fig. 10.4), **5**, **8**, **10-11** (on at least **R 3**, the *keras* might have been filled with painted fruit). One might then expect an image of Tykhe and Ploutos to emphasise the *keras* that they shared—as is the case with the so-called Eirene and Ploutos statue type on the Panathenaic *amphorae*, **VP 60-67** (figs. 10.1-2).

A closer investigation of the Panathenaic *amphorae* actually reveals images of two distinct statue types. The type that most strongly resembles the Eirene and Ploutos group known from Roman statues, **S 4a, b, e**, and **h** (fig. 2.1) is that shown on **VP 61** (fig. 10.1) and **VP 62-67**: a *peplophoros* raises her right arm (sometimes with a sceptre), and cradles in her left arm a boy in a black *himation*, who himself carries a *keras* in his left arm, and holds his right arm towards the face of the woman. **VP 60** (fig. 10.2) and **62** show a similar group, except that Ploutos emerges from the *keras* that the mother herself holds. While the discrepancy between the two iconographic types is slight, and might be attributed to artistic license. The fact that **VP 62** shows both types would favour this interpretation. It is probable also that they copy slightly different statues. The one shown on **VP 60** (fig. 10.2) and **62**, which more effectively emphasises the shared attribute, the *keras*, may in fact be the Tykhe and Ploutos group that Pausanias located at Thebes, **S 6** (and perhaps also copied on a gem, **S 4g**).⁴ Why

would a statue of Tykhe and Ploutos at Thebes, i.e. a Theban monument, find representation on the quintessentially Athenian *amphorae*? Could Xenophon's statue have been located originally at Athens, or given to Thebes by the Athenians as a token of friendship, as in the modern case of the Statue of Liberty (a gift from the French to the Americans)? Certainly the duplication on Athenian works (the *amphorae*) of a sculpture known from Thebes that was made, or even given, by Athenians, would not be surprising at the end of the 360s, the high point of Theban hegemony.

Ploutos at Eleusis

Ploutos primarily denotes agricultural wealth, which is advertised in his connection with the Eleusinian divinities (Homeros, *Odysseia* 125-128; Hesychios s.v. Πλοῦτοι specifies that *ploutos* denotes wealth from barley and wheat). Demeter is known as his mother as early as Hesiodos (*Theogonia* 969-974):

Demeter, shining among goddesses, after the affection of the hero Iasion in the sweetness of love, gave birth to Ploutos... who walks over earth and the sea's wide surfaces everywhere, and he who meets him with the giving of hands between them is made rich, to whom much worldly happiness is granted.

Hymnos Homerikos eis Demetran (488-489) reports that Demeter and Kore sent Ploutos to mortals on earth (Foley ed., 1994: 70, 110-111). Orphic sources also have Demeter as *Ploutodoteira* (giver of Wealth) (*Hymnoi Orphikoi* 40.3). Another source associates Demeter with 'the crown-bearing Horai' (of whom Eirene was one) and names her the mother of Ploutos (Fr. 885 Page, *PMG* [=Athenaios 15.694]). The inclusion of Ploutos among the Eleusinian divinities signals the primary benefit—agricultural abundance—that they promised to Eleusinian worshippers. Agricultural wealth was a theme of utmost importance to the fourth century Athenian politicians, so that in an Eleusinian context Ploutos retains the political significance of his connection with Eirene as reflected, for example,

⁴ Hans Karl Süsserott originally suggested this Theban Tyche as the identity of a heavily draped figure on the right side of another worn and fragmentary Panathenaic amphora (from Kyrenaike)—Berlin Staatliche Museen 3980 (*UKV* 108, 111; BA 16434)—alone on a Doric column capital (Süsserott, 1938: 72 n. 147). He identified the bearded figure, also heavily draped, on top of the left capital of this Panathenaic image, as Plouton. Each of these two figures holds an empty *keras* in his/her left arm and a *phiale* in his/her lowered right hand. I would agree with Katrin Bemmman that, on the basis of drapery lines, however, the right figure should be understood also to be a bearded male (Bemmman, 1994: 198 A 44, following Eschbach, 1986: 19-20 Kat. 12, 21 fig. 11, pls. 5.4, 6.1-2). Indeed, other Panathenaics in this series from the Arkhonship of Philokles (392/91), show two male figures atop the columns on either side of Athena.

in Kallias' report of Athens' contribution to the agriculture of the Peloponnesos in his speech on peace to the Spartans in 371 (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.3.6).

Hesiodos' description, above, of Ploutos as a god who travels and brings wealth to everyone, recalls the myth of Triptolemos, the youth who traveled in a winged chariot, at the bidding of Demeter, to deliver to the world the gifts of grain and agriculture (Apollodoros 1.5.2; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 147, *Poetica astronomica* 2.14; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Thebais* 2.382; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.559, *Tristia* 3.8.1; Pausanias 7.18.3; Servius on Virgilius, *Georgica* 1.19. 1.163; Sophokles, *Triptolemos* 596 Radt). As the functions of these two Eleusinian youths are similar, it is difficult for modern scholars to distinguish one from the other with certainty. Triptolemos brought agricultural knowledge, as well as the wealth of grain, and as an Athenian hero he would have better advertised "... the image of Athens as the bringer of civilisation to the rest of Greece" (Matheson, 1994: 368). Susan Matheson suggests that this story of the mission of Triptolemos may have grown in popularity in the wake of the Persian Wars because of the miraculous role that Eleusis was said to have played in the battle of Salamis (Matheson, 1994). Herodotos (8.65) and Ploutarkhos (*Themistokles* 15) both report a loud cry (of Iakkhos), accompanied by a great light or a cloud of dust that emanated from Eleusis, and served as an omen for the defeat of the Persian fleet. In late Archaic and Classical representations, Triptolemos is usually seated in his winged chariot, which clearly distinguishes him from Ploutos (compare images of Triptolemos in Hayashi, 1992). For the political reason suggested by Matheson—and perhaps also the chariot, which makes for a more striking picture—Triptolemos was clearly preferred by Attic vase painters, and may have eclipsed Ploutos in the fifth century. This would account for the virtual absence of Ploutos from the visual arts of Athens before the fourth century, despite his role in contemporary literature, particularly comedy. If Ploutos is the boy on the Great Eleusinian Relief, Athens, NM 126, which dates to the last quarter of the fifth century on stylistic

grounds, then it would be his earliest appearance in Attic arts. Clinton and Palagia's argument that the boy on this relief is Ploutos (Clinton & Palagia, 2003, repeated in Clinton, 2009: 58) relies, alas, on anachronistic or irrelevant iconographic evidence, such as the mid-fourth century Kerch style *lekanis* lid, Athens, Fethiye Djami 1961-NAK 790 (Clinton, 1994b: 416 s.v. Ploutos no. 6). Yet the boy on the Great Eleusinian Relief has no iconographic connection to Ploutos: he does not hold the *keras*, and he wears sandals. Earlier suggestions—that he represents Triptolemos, Eubouleus, Iakkhos, Nisos, a child initiate from the hearth, an ordinary initiate, a nobleman, and a victor in the Eleusinian games—also fall down on iconographic grounds. I agree with Harrison, however, that the boy might rather be Eumolpos (Harrison, 2000; on Eumolpos see also 101, above).

Ploutos seems to have superseded Triptolemos at Eleusis, however, in the fourth century. He functioned both as bearer of agricultural wealth and as mystic child (see below). It is the former role, of course, that he shares with Triptolemos. While Triptolemos' image nearly disappears from Athens in the fourth century, his role is not forgotten. In 380, Isokrates alludes to Triptolemos' story in his *Panegyrikos* (4.29; trans. Norlin 1954), which celebrates Athens' contributions to the world, although he never mentions Triptolemos by name:

Our city was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind that, having become endowed with these great blessings, she did not begrudge them to the rest of the world but shared with all men what she had received..., as for the fruits of the earth, our city has, in a word, instructed the world in their uses, their cultivation, and the benefits derived from them.

As an icon on Attic arts intended for export, moreover, Ploutos may have been preferred, as he was not exclusive to the Eleusinian circle. His common appearance on Kerch style vases, exported to the Black Sea, is appropriate insofar as these vases were traded for the very grain that he personified, and on which Athens desperately relied in the 350s (see Davies, 1978: 222).

A mystic child was part of the Eleusinian ritual: the *hierophant* (initiating priest) was said to proclaim the birth of a boy during the rites (Hippolytos, *Philosophumena* 5.8.40; see also Clinton, 1992: 91-95). There are several candidates for the identity of this child: Zagreus, Brimos, and Ploutos. Each is easily confused with Dionysos. The child that Hermes hands to a woman's care on **VP 69-70** is most easily identifiable as Dionysos (**figs. 10.5-6**). This identification is based not only the *nebris* (deer skin) in which he is wrapped but also on the tradition that he was given (by the nymphs) to the care of his brother, Hermes (as discussed above, 36). On parallel with **VP 70**, the object held by the woman on **VP 69** must be a figure of a child, added in white paint that has now all but disappeared. Of those who have interpreted it as a child, Beazley (*ARV*² 1476.1) suggested that it was a divine child, being received by Herakles, and Filippo Giudice followed the idea that the infant was Zagreus, being carried to Hermes (Giudice, 1994: 819 s.v. Styx no. 6a). It is doubtful that Zagreus—the obscure son of Persephone and Zeus—was the boy shown on **VP 69-70**, as he is not here shown in the arms of Persephone, his rightful mother (see Gallistl, 1981: 235-247). Who was Brimos? This 'strong' holy child has been confused even with the Iakkhos (Mystic Cry), who was, however, not known as a baby or child (Burkert, 1985: 288). Ploutos seems an unlikely identity for the baby on **VP 69** because he appears as a slightly older boy on the front of that vase. Ploutos is, however, almost certainly the child held up by Ge (?) on **VP 59**, where he sits on a *keras*, his most common attribute (**fig. 10.7**). This attribute also suits his Eleusinian role as an agricultural divinity. I agree with Robert Parker that Ploutos is the most likely overall identification for the mystic child (Parker, 2005: 337-339 and 357).

Ploutos was regularly invoked among the Eleusinian divinities, as in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* (295-299), performed in 411:

Pray now to the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore; and to Wealth, and to Kalligeneia [the Mother of all beautiful things], and to the

Kourotrophos [Nurturer of the child]; and to Ge [Earth] and to Hermes and the assembled Kharites [Graces].

Such invocations are the only evidence that Ploutos was formally worshipped in Attika. The same passage refers to several female divinities, besides Demeter and her daughter, with whom Ploutos is found in the visual and literary arts of fourth-century Attika. Two are unspecified—*Kalligeneia* (Καλλιγενεία), meaning "the mother of beautiful things" and *Kourotrophos* (Κουροτρόφος), meaning "the nurturer of the child." It is clear that these names are not mere epithets of Demeter and Kore because they are divided from the names of those goddesses by the conjunction 'and' (καί). Both could easily be taken as descriptions of Eirene, especially if the child (*Kouros*) is Wealth, as seems implied by this invocation shortly before the reference to the *Kourotrophos*.

Ge, the goddess in the last line of Aristophanes' invocation to Ploutos, however, is the most natural of Ploutos' mothers, for she is the earth that yields the grain that generates the wealth that he represents. In a speech he attributes to Aspasia, Sokrates expounds on 'our land' as the mother of mankind, but also as the mother of grain of wheat and barley, the richest type of nourishment, with which Ploutos is connected (Platon, *Menexenos* 237-238). Ge was worshipped with the epithet *Kourotrophos*, along with Demeter Khloe on the Southwest slope of the Athenian Akropolis (Pausanias 1.22.3; see also Athens, EM 5449 [*IG* I³ 234.9-10] and EM 6720 [*IG* I³ 1060]), and elsewhere in Attika (Pausanias 1.14.3; 1.18.7; 1.31.4; and 4.1.5; Hesychios s.v. Γενήσια; *Suda* s.v. Κουροτρόφος; *SEG* 14.3; *IG* I³ 5.3 [*SEG* 42.1; c. 500]; *IG* II² 1358.9). It is difficult to distinguish Ge from Demeter in Eleusinian iconography, as these and other fertility deities wore elaborate grain-crowns, called *poloi* (Moore, 1988). We cannot determine, therefore, whether Demeter, Ge, or even Eirene, is the goddess who bears a child on Kerch style vases decorated with Eleusinian imagery.

The image of Ge at Athens varies greatly from the fifth to fourth centuries. The only labeled

figure of Ge—whether by that or any of her variant names (see Loraux, 2000: 108-110)—is on the front of Syriskos' calyx krater, formerly in Malibu, **VP 3 (fig. 3.1)**, where she is called Ge Pan-teleia (Entire Earth). Her full figure is shown in this depiction and perhaps on a later vase, a squat *lekythos* in Cleveland, attributed to the Meidias Painter, **VP 29 (fig. 8.1)**. This latter figure, who holds Erikhthonios at his birth, has also been identified as Attika (as discussed above, 93): the conflation of Attika and Ge would be inevitable in Athenian stories, as Attika was in fact a part of Ge (Earth). It is the rising half figure, however, that becomes the conventional image of Ge on Eleusinian (Kerch) vases, **VP 59 (fig. 10.7)** and **69**, usually in depictions of the *gigantomakhia* in which Ge's sons, the Giants, were outsmarted by the Olympian gods. That her lower half is in the ground emphasises Ge's connection to the earth. The *hydria* in Istanbul attributed to the Helena Painter—**VP 59 (fig. 10.7)**—is perhaps the clearest indication that this rising female deity is Ge. On this vase the female figure emerging from the ground gives the nude infant—surely Ploutos, who wears a *himation* around his hips, and sits atop a *keras*—to Demeter. The attributes of the earth-bound deity and Demeter are similar: both wear gold relief grain crowns with veils over the backs of their heads, and hold sceptres. A startling but appropriate distinction between the two is that the scale of the earth-bound female is almost twice as large as that of Demeter (as well as the other characters). This is the only case in the Classical period in which the scale of a non-Olympian figure is shown to be much greater than that of an Olympian divinity. Artists did not even take such liberties with the Giants in their battle against the Olympians until the Hellenistic period, for example, in the large upper figure of Ge emerging from the ground on the East portion of the Great Frieze of the Pergamon Altar (c. 180-160), now in the Berlin Museums. This earth-bound goddess could be none other than Ge, Earth herself, the immense deity who gave birth to the Giants, among others. The painter might also have used her size in order to emphasise the breadth of her realm. The fact that she

emerges from the ground also strongly implies her identity as Ge.

In a few Eleusinian scenes, Ploutos is shown with his *keras*. He may be the infant holding a *keras*, in the arms of Kore (Persephone), on an early Classical fragmentary *phiale* in Malibu, signed by Douris: J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.213, 85.AE.18.1-9, 85.AE.185.1-3, L. 89.AE.43.80, 96.AE.335.2 (formerly L.92.AE.88.2-3) (Clinton, 1994b: 416 s.v. Ploutos no. 5). Ploutos is probably also the boy bearing a *keras*, himself cradled in the arms of a male figure, on two late fourth-century reliefs from the Athenian Agora, S 1251 and S 1646 (Miles, 1998: 218-219, cat. III. 7-8, pl. 38). Who then is the mature male on these reliefs who holds Ploutos (and a drinking horn on one relief)? The fact that he holds Ploutos suggests that he is Ploutos' father or the giver of Wealth (Ploutodotes).⁵ Clinton thought he was Eubouleus (Clinton, 1992: 92), while others have taken him as the child of Demeter and her consort Iasios (Homeros, *Odysseia* 5.125-128; Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 969-974). Iakkhos, the personification of the mystic cry, ἱακχος, is more relevant: he was customarily addressed by worshippers as Ploutodotes (Giver of Wealth) (Sch. Aristophanes, *Batrakhoi* 479.6: ἱακχε πλουτοδότα; Thompson, 1948: 178; Miles, 1998: 218). Indeed, because Iakkhos was connected with Ploutos by the worshippers in the ritual, he seems the most likely candidate for the man holding Ploutos in front of worshippers on the Agora reliefs.

If we accept that Ploutos could have been represented as a pre-adolescent boy at various stages of development then there are many more images of him (I have excluded from my catalogue those of him alone or without political personifications). He is probably the boy painted white—as was customary for images of women and children—on Kerch style vases: nude, except

⁵ See also 'Ploutodotes', a mature bearded male with a *keras*, who looks like Plouton, on an Attic black-figure amphora fragment, in the Manner of Exekias (530-520), from the Sanctuary of Persephone in Contrada Mannella at Locri, now in Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale Regionale 4001 (ABV 147.6; *Add*² 41; *Para* 61; BA 310415).

for a *khlamys* on his back or over his shoulder, and a fillet in his hair, cradling the *keras* in his left arm. The scene on the front of the Eleusinian Painter's name vase, VP 69 (fig. 10.6) seems to show Ploutos to the right of a seated Demeter, holding his gold *keras*. This same scene is repeated on several other Kerch style vases, such as the Pourtales Krater in London, BM 1865.1-3.14 (ARV² 1446.1, 1693; BA 218148). Here he is seated alongside Dionysos on the god's *kline* and wears the ivy wreath that is appropriate in the realm of Dionysos. His identity as Ploutos is suggested by his age, attire, and *keras*, and is unsurprising given the association of Dionysos with the Eleusinian divinities in the fourth century (Métzger, 1995).

The image of Ploutos is a hope or prayer for the future at Eleusis, where he never grows up. He had been earlier personified by Aristophanes, as the eponymous character in that poet's last comedy, *Ploutos*, but his form in that drama was of an old, blind man. The representation of Ploutos as an old man suits the negative tone of that play; Ploutos' miserly nature is more logically embodied in a wizened old man than a charming young boy. And, as Aristophanes' Ploutos himself explains, Zeus made him blind:

...out of spite against mankind. In my youth I used to say I would only visit the upright and wise and modest. So he made me blind so I couldn't know who they were. That just shows how much ill-will he bears against decent people.
(Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 87-92)

Perhaps this is the Archaic vision of Ploutos: such an image of old, blind Wealth is also found in a sixth-century poetic fragment attributed to Hipponax (fr. 36 West *IE*²). Clinton suggests it was necessary for the Classical Athenian artists to distinguish emphatically Ploutos, in age if not other qualities, from the older, dressed Plouton (Hades), who shared with the younger personification his *keras*, and is also shown in the company of the Eleusinian divinities (Clinton, 1994b: 419). The youthful Ploutos might have developed also from the need of the artists to suggest, in visual terms, this personification's filial relationship to

Eirene and/or Demeter. The political concept, Ploutos, is most attractively and aptly portrayed in the form of a handsome child bearing the fruits of the earth in his *keras*, for children and agricultural abundance were two tangible aspects of wealth, the benefits of peace that the Athenians most desired. A rare conflation of these two, radically different Ploutoi, is found in a painting described (invented?) by Philostratos in the second century CE: a winged, golden Ploutos, with his sight restored, flies down from the clouds to attend the birth of Athena, on the Akropolis at Rhodes (Philostratos, *Eikones* 2.27.4; Clinton, 1994b: 416 s.v. Ploutos no. 4). Philostratos was probably familiar with Aristophanes' blind *Ploutos* (Loukianos also refers to Ploutos in *Rhetoron didaskalos* 6 and *Peri ton epi misthoi synonton* 42), but perhaps he and his readers were more accustomed to the optimistic child, Ploutos.

The relative lack of labels and standardisation make it difficult for us to identify securely 4th-century personifications. Artists rather depicted personifications with a variety of figures, and in different scenes, to suit different needs. The woman holding a baby on Kerch style vases, for example, might be Ge, Demeter, or Eirene, and the child might be Ploutos, Dionysos, or some other divine child. The distinction between these earthy deities is likewise unclear in Classical literature. The Derveni Papyrus, a 4th-century Orphic text, goes so far as to explain that Demeter and Ge are variant names of the same goddess, who is also known as Mother, Rhea, Hera, Ge-Meter and Hestia (Orph. F 398 Bernabé). Like Demeter, Eirene is well suited to many roles. Eirene changed her appearance from that of a young maenad in the circle of Dionysos (in the last quarter of the fifth century) to that of a maternal goddess (in the second quarter of the fourth century). As a fertility goddess who was the mother or nurse of Ploutos, the personification of agricultural Wealth, Eirene may have been brought into the circle of the Eleusinian deities (who had been long associated with him), and perhaps intentionally conflated with the grain goddess, Demeter.

Ploutos was the quintessential 4th-century Athenian personification, used by artists in a variety of contexts. He appears with Eirene in a political vein, and likewise with Tykhe. He also becomes entrenched in the two most popular cults of the time, those of Dionysos and the Eleusinian mysteries. Ploutos grows in importance at Eleusis in the second quarter of the fourth century, after his introduction to Athens in the arms of Eirene, in the form of Kephisodotos' statue (S 4). Perhaps his variable parentage and obscure mythical and religious roles result from the fact that his worship was shrouded in mystery at Eleusis. His seeming elevation to cult status, however, marks the particular success of Athenian artists in bringing a

personification into the mainstream of Athenian life through art and then religion. Agricultural wealth had become a common object of desire, after the devastation, throughout the Peloponnesian and Korinthian Wars, of Athens' own agricultural resources at home, not to mention the loss of her overseas possessions. By the middle of the fourth century, agricultural imports had become a major focus of Athenian politics, with foreign alliances and trade agreements directed at engineering a final return of Ploutos to their city. His most common attribute—the *keras*—emphasises the agricultural basis of the wealth that the fourth century Athenians hoped Ploutos would bring in any circumstances.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FROM *OIKOS* TO *POLIS*: DEMOCRACY AND MORE CIVIC VIRTUES IN FOURTH CENTURY ATHENS

During the waning years of the Athenian democracy (378-322) Athens transformed her civic virtues, such as *demokratia* (democracy) and *tykhe* (fortune) into cult personifications. In his efforts to renew Athens' fortunes after 338, Lykourgos (re)built temples and sanctuaries including one for Tykhe (Fortune) (Messerschmidt, 2003: 18-19, following Hintzen-Bohlen, 1997: 21-37). Demos is also rejuvenated at this time, in image and in cult. There is little continuity, however, between fifth- and fourth-century personifications at Athens. Demos is the only fifth-century cult personification whose popularity continued in the arts of Athens after 378. Peitho appears only once in fourth century Athens, in a mythic scene on a Kerch *pelike* dating to 340-330, **VP 71 (fig. 4.6)**. Although Eirene, Eunomia, and Eukleia were all known in the arts of fifth-century Athens, the earliest attestations of their worship belong to the fourth century. As I discussed in chapter 10, Eirene did not receive a cult until the peace of 375/4, when she returned to the Athenians in a mature form.

The evidence for new cult personifications in 4th-century Attika comes from a diverse range of material: inscriptions, references in the written sources, and works of art. Given the scattered nature of this evidence it is difficult to make meaningful distinctions between the personifications that were deified and those that were not. Some new political personifications in fourth century Attika may have been worshipped with Olympian divinities, such as Ploutos with Demeter (as discussed in chapter 10). Yet the number of personifications associated directly with Olympian divinities—through shared cults as well as co-representation in the visual arts—declined dramatically in the fourth century. This

may signal the final stage in the assimilation of personifications into Athenian culture, a stage in which they had become commonplace enough to warrant legitimate independent cult status.

Tykhe

By the end of the fourth century, Tykhe, the personification of Fortune, comes to represent the fortune of individual rulers and cities, as in the famous case of the Tykhe of Antiokheia (noted in chapter 9, 92). The cause and meanings of fortune are of course varied. *Tykhe* represents many different types of fortune, including occurrence, chance, luck, achievement, success, even wealth: “*tyche* can accurately be described as the outcome of all causes affecting an individual considered from a standpoint of personal advantages” (Kershaw, 1986: 2/3). The multifaceted Tykhe, who is both good and bad, is a Hellenistic development of a persona evidenced in early Greek literature. In *Hymnos Homerikos eis Demetran* (417-420) Tykhe is enumerated among Okeanids who play with the earth goddess' daughter, Kore. Perhaps this one mythic locus helps us understand the relevance of this water nymph to fertility and thus to agricultural wealth (as discussed in chapter 10, 112-113). Alkmanos, in the Archaic period, notes her sisterhood with Peitho and Eunomia (see chapter 5, 55). Pindaros, in the Classical period, lists her as a daughter of Zeus (Pindaros, *Olympionike* 12.1) and mightiest of the Moirai (Pindaros, *Hymnoi* fr. 41 Snell-Mähler [=Pausanias 7.26.8]). She certainly has early associations with the divine: Arkhilokhos (fr. 16 West) made the connection between Tykhe and Moira (Fate), who together affect everything.

Pindaros, writing in the middle of the fifth century, also provides the first attestation of Tykhe as a civic deity (Pindaros, *Hymnoi* fr. 39 Snell-Mähler [=Pausanias 4.30.6]). In a hymn, seemingly to Tykhe, he refers to Τύχη φερέπολις, “Fortune supporting the city,” and in an *Olympian Ode* invokes her as σώτειρα Τύχα, “saviour Fortune” (Pindaros, *Olympionike* 12.2). In *Agamemnon* (produced in 458) Aiskhylos infers that Tykhe is a saviour goddess, when she is credited with saving a boat from a storm (Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon* 664). In *On the Nature of Things*, Empedokles says that “...all things are conceived in the will of Tykhe” (1 B103 DK). In his explanation that everything exists in threes, Ion of Khios, however, noted that *tykhe* is one of three virtues, along with *conscience* and *might* (36 B1 DK), and that, although *tykhe* differs from *sophia* (wisdom) in many things, these two entities effect things in the same way (through the gifts that they bring to humans) (36 B3 DK [=Ploutarkhos, *Peri tes Romaion tukhes* 316d, with Ploutarkhos’ commentary]). Empedokles’ explanation is the closest Tykhe comes to personification in pre-Socratic fragments. Tykhe is prominent in the works of Euripides, for example, when Odysseus (in *Kyklops*, c. 408) threatens Hephaistos not to betray him and his crew, for “If you do, we will make a goddess of Tykhe, and count her higher than all the other gods!” (Euripides, *Kyklops* 607). Even that author continues the sophistic trend of regarding Tykhe as a force that is important, but separate from the gods (*Elektra* 892; *Hypsipyle* fr. ap. *Lydum*, p. 48 Bond; and *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1403; see Giannopoulou, 2002). Tykhe’s civic nature, for which she became extremely popular in the Graeco-Roman period (Matheson ed., 1994, especially Broucke, 1994), is not explicit in fifth century Attic literature. Whereas Classical authors expound on Tykhe’s fickle ways, and the good and bad luck that is granted in certain situations, or to certain individuals (see especially Euripides, *Alkestis* 785 and *Herakles* 480), the Tykhe noted in Attic inscriptions always bears the epithet Agathe (Good). It is natural that her worshippers would have supplicated Tykhe’s good side. By the first half of the fourth century

Tykhe receives dedications and sacrifices: *IG II*² 4564, on Athens, EM 10380, records a dedication to the twelve gods and to Agathe Tykhe, from 370 or later. Inscriptions such as *IG II*² 4610 (*SEG* 34.165; 304/3) also attest sacrifices to Athena Nike, Agathe Tykhe, and the (Makedonian) ‘Saviours’, in thanks for military successes (Woodhead, 1981).

The concept of *tykhe* clearly developed through the Classical period (Berry, 1940) and by the middle of the fourth century many saw Tykhe as a power comparable to, if not quite the same as, the gods (Platon, *Nomoi* 709b). By the last quarter of the fourth century, Agathe Tykhe receives a cult in her own right: Lykourgos boasts of his repairing the Temple of Tykhe as part of his renewal of the city at this time (Lykourgos, *Peri tes dioikeseos* fr. 5.6; Conomis 1970, 98-100). A contemporary inscription from 335/4—*IG II*² 333.19-20—tells us that this was no empty boast. Another inscription—*IG II*² 1035.44, 48—suggests that this Sanctuary was located at some point along Athens’ Long Walls. The prominence of the concept of *tykhe* in Pausanias’ discussion of the altars of Eleos (Pity or Mercy),¹ Aidōs (Reverence), Pheme (Rumour: Herman, 2006: 338; Stafford, 2000: 10-11), and Horme (Impulse: Stafford, 2000: 204-205), all located in the Agora, has tempted scholars to place Tykhe’s cult centre also there (Koumanoudes, 1955):

In the Athenian Agora, among other things which are not known to all, there is an altar of Eleos [Pity/Mercy], who is of all gods the most useful in human life and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but is honoured by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are known not only for their humanity, but they also revere the gods more than other people, for they have altars of

¹ By Pausanias’ time *eleos* seems to have meant ‘mercy’, as Stafford has discussed in connection with the Roman sources for the altar of Eleos (Stafford, 2000: 199-222). Yet in the fifth and fourth centuries *eleos* was closer in meaning to pity (Konstan, 2001: 53; see also LSJ⁹ s.v. ἐλεός). N. Robertson, 1992: 51-52 argues that “a personification like Pity... would not be worshipped in the fifth century” and suggests rather that from the beginning this was a nickname for the altar of Zeus Agoraios, as earlier suggested by Oikonomides, 1964: 32-39.

Aidos [Reverence], of Pheme [Rumour], and of Horne [Impulse]. Clearly to those who are more pious than others there is a proportionate share of good luck [τύχης χρηστῆς].
(Pausanias 1.17.1)

Of the cult personifications that Pausanias mentions in this passage, none are known in extant Greek art, and only one, Aidos (ἡ Αἰδός), is personified in extant Classical Greek literature (Hani, 1980: 103–112). Aidos (discussed above with regard to Nemesis) was indeed a private and public Classical virtue (Riedinger, 1979), discussed by Platon in connection with *dike* (justice) (Rudhardt, 1999: 132–133; Cairns, 1993) and worshipped at Sparta (Richer, 1999) and at Athens by Hellenistic times: the priest of Aidos also had a seat in the Theatre of Dionysos (*IG* II² 5147). Yet there are no extant visual sources for personified Aidos. Douglas Cairns rightly discounts an inscription, ΑΙΔΟΣ, on an *amphora* by Phintias, 520–510, Louvre G 42 (*ARV*² 23.1; *Add*² 154; BA 200146) (Cairns, 1996).

Inscriptions attest Tykhe's role as protector of Athens' civic fortune: while Pausanias fails to mention a cult to Agathe Tykhe in the passage above, more than a thousand inscriptions dating from 360 to 318 invoke Agathe Tykhe, and in many of these the "Good Fortune of the Demos of Athens" (Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων) is specified. Visual representations of Tykhe are a fourth-century phenomenon in Attika. No firm evidence identifies Tykhe on extant fifth century vase paintings. I have argued against the identification of Tykhe on **VP 16** (45, 72), and, as also noted below (166 n.2), Beazley suggested that the label 'Tykhe' on **VP 44**, seemingly identifying a seated figure—probably Aphrodite—was modern, as are all labels on this vase. Agathe Tykhe appears on six Attic reliefs: **R 3-5**, **7**, **10-11**, and perhaps also **8** (figs. **10.4**, **11.1-4**). An inscribed label on the upper moulding of a votive relief, **R 4** (fig. **11.1**), identifies Tykhe. Here she carries the *keras*—the fertility attribute that she shares with Ploutos—in both hands. A female figure, seated but otherwise identical to the Tykhe on **R 4**, is found on contemporary votive reliefs, **R 10-11** (fig. **11.2**)

and perhaps also **8**. Other lost fourth century images of Tykhe include the statue by Xenophon of Athens (in Thebes, **S 6**, discussed in chapter 10, 113), and at least two lost statues by Praxiteles of Athens, **S 8** and **S 16**). **S 8** was a cult statue in the Sanctuary of Tykhe at Megara: "Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune: the image of Fortune is also a work of Praxiteles" (Pausanias 1.43.6). This statue may be reflected on Roman Imperial coins (Imhoof-Blümer and Gardner, 1888: 56, pl. 50a.14; *SNG* 14.487, 491–492). Ailianos locates Praxiteles' other statue, **S 16**, in the Prytaneion of Athens' Agora (*Poikili historia* 9.39). Palagia suggested that a monumental fourth-century female statue found in the Agora (**S 10**) was Tykhe but her unconvincing argument relies on the coincidence of the glossy stump of the left arm—perhaps traditionally touched for good luck (Palagia, 1994: 120).

Despite the common invocation of Tykhe in the text of Attic documents, the personification of Tykhe is unattested among the reliefs that illustrate many of these documents. Palagia speculated that Tykhe is the female figure shown on the relief decorating a late fourth century lease from Peiraieus (**DR 49**) (Palagia, 1982: 108). The text on the document refers to a lease of Peiraieus property—a shop and outbuildings—rented by one Eukrates, son of Exekias of Aphidna, from eight Kytherian *meritai*. The seated man may represent Eukrates at the moment of agreement on the contract (and the accompanying oath with libation). The standing female figure, whose appearance is dissimilar to contemporary and later Tykhai, is probably a local heroine next to a local hero: Elpis Mitropoulou suggests that the lack of designations for the figures indicates that they were well known, perhaps the hero and heroine of a local cult (Mitropoulou, 1975: 43). As such they could refer to an oath and libation with which the business of the lease was concluded. An unnamed local hero is cited in the text of the inscription (Lawton, 1995a: 149). Palagia's inference that Tykhe is the protector of oaths, and would be present at the oath with which the two relevant parties signed this lease, is unsubstantiated (Palagia, 1982: 108). Svoronos' hypothesis, that she is

Misthosis, the Lease herself, is also unparalleled (Svoronos, 1903-1937: 597-598). Nikolas Kaltsas opts for an awkward compromise between Svoronos and Mitropoulou's suggestion that the woman is indeed the personification of Leasing and that the seated man is the local (eponymous) hero, Kytheros (Kaltsas, 2002: 238).

Although Agathe Tykhe received worship in her own cult, sources also connect her with Philia (Friendship) and Zeus. The secure evidence for this triad is an inscribed votive relief in Copenhagen (R 7, fig. 11.3), dated to the middle of the fourth century. The relief depicts a family of worshippers approaching a pair of deities on a couch. The accompanying inscription, IG II² 4627, explains that "Aristomakhe...dedicates to Zeus Epiteleios Philios and to Philia, the mother of the god, and to Agathe Tykhe, the wife of the god." The reclining male god shown must then be the primary recipient of the dedication, Zeus (Epi)teleios (Zeus who brings things to completion), the patron of matrimonial concord, along with Hera Teleia (Poulsen 1951, 177). Since only one of the two named goddesses is shown, it is most likely that she is meant to be Zeus' consort cited in the inscription, Tykhe. The divine triad—Philia, Zeus Epiteleios Philios (her son), and Agathe Tykhe (his wife)—mirrors the human triad—Aristomakhe, Olympiodoros (her son), and Theoris (his wife). As Herman has noted (2006: 339), "We could hardly find a better example of investing the divine with human aspirations". This matrimonial connection between the two deities might explain why Zeus here carries the *keras* of Tykhe. As a result, Zeus looks like the hero Agathos Daimon (Good Spirit), also known as Agathodaimon, of whom many representations are known on banquet reliefs preserved from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The conflation between Zeus Epiteleios and Agathos Daimon on this relief may be intentional, as both were regarded as protectors of house and fertility, and libations were made to Agathos Daimon and Zeus Teleios before drinking began at *symposia* (Burkert, 1985: 70-71, 107; see also Lalonde 2006, 82 on the connection of Zeus [Epi]teleios to Zeus Philios and Zeus Meilikhios). Agathos Daimon is the male equivalent of Agathe Tykhe: they are

worshipped and represented together, in Athens and elsewhere, throughout Classical and Hellenistic Greece, for example, in a joint temple at Leba-deia (Pausanias 9.39.5-13; see also Dunand, 1981: 277-282).

A single male worshipper approaches a seated goddess with *keras* and *phiale* on a late fourth century votive relief from Athens, R 11 (fig. 11.2). Similarly, a mid-fourth century votive relief in Peiraieus, R 8, depicts a goddess with the same attributes, standing alone. A pair of worshippers approach her, perhaps seeking her help in healing the leg shown in the upper left corner of the relief: perhaps the leg represents a votive hanging in the sanctuary. The dedication is to the Agathe Theos, who might be an *alter ego* of Agathe Tykhe, with whom she shares attributes. This healing function would suit the presumed provenience of this relief—the Asklepieion near Mounykhia (in the Peiraieus) (Effenberger, 1969: 50; Greifenhagen, 1937: 238). A similar goddess, with *keras* and perhaps also *phiale*, is seated with a bearded god on another votive relief found in that Asklepieion (R 10). These figures might be Agathe Tykhe and Agathos Daimon. Their images are similar to those on R 4, an inscribed mid-fourth century statue base from the Athenian Akropolis decorated with reliefs (fig. 11.1). On this statue base it is Agathos Daimon, however, who carries the *keras*, while Agathe Tykhe holds her veil towards Agathos Daimon in the *anakalypsis* gesture that suggests her status as his wife. A second female figure, whose label is missing, is shown to the right of Agathe Tykhe. She has no attributes or identifying characteristics, but on comparison with the dedicatory inscription of R 7 (fig. 11.3), could be Philia. Zeus/Agathos Daimon, Agathe Tykhe, and Philia, may be among the gods represented on a fragmentary, contemporary votive relief in Athens (R 5, fig. 11.4).

Philia

No sources indicate the direct relationship of Philia to Agathe Tykhe, but their joint association in cult implies a civic dimension that went

beyond the traditional household reverence for Agathos Daimon and Agathe Tykhe. The only other evidence of the cult status of Philia is Hesykhios' mention of an altar to Philia on the Athenian Akropolis (s.v. Αἰδοῦς βωμός; Φιλιάς, the word in the codices, has been traditionally emended to ἀφελείας, on comparison with Eustathios 1279.40, who quotes Pausanias). Like Agathe Tykhe, Philia was at times, but not always, political. *Philia* (ἡ φιλία), "the natural force which unites discordant elements and movements," could refer to friendship between household members or between neighbouring households (LSJ⁹ s.v. φιλία 5). Without explicitly using the word, *philia*, in *Olympionike* 7, Pindaros brings attention to such a bond between men created through marriage, which is accompanied by Kharis (Grace) (for *philia* in Pindaros see, however, Crotty, 1982: 76-79). In his poem *On the Nature of Things*, Empedokles (early fifth century) wrote of *philia* as the polar force that opposed *neikos* (τό νεῖκος), strife, feud, or hostility (31 B16, 18-20 DK). Isokrates cites Empedokles' emphasis on these two contrasting forces in his *Antidosis* (15.268). Hippias notes that *philia* is the best possession, in his discussion of *diabole* (διαβολή), treachery, as the greatest evil (86 B17 DK). *Philia* was then taken to be domestic political force, one that joined demesmen and citizens (Konstan, 1985 and 1997). In the late 320s, the demesmen of Kollytos resolved "...to sacrifice to all their gods and heroes and above all to Good Fortune for the safety of the city" (Tracy, 1994: 241). This Agathe Tykhe represented the combined fortune of individuals in an *oikos*, *deme*, or the *polis* itself. She is naturally linked to Philia, the spirit of Friendship that joined those groups of individuals. By the late fifth and fourth centuries Philia also referred to the force that joined Athens to her allies. In praising the Athenian general Timotheos for his friendly stance towards other city states, Isokrates substituted *misos* (τό μῖσος), hatred, for *neikos*, as the force opposed to *philia*:

Seeing that you were accustomed only to the kind of men who forced back and terrified the other cities and were always for setting up some revolu-

tion or other among your allies, he [Timotheos] did not agree with your judgments, nor was he willing to stop the city [Athens] from being well esteemed; on the contrary, he made it the object of his thought and of his actions that none of the cities of Hellas should be afraid, but that all—except those who did wrong—should take courage. For he knew that men who are afraid hate those who inspire this feeling in them, and that it was due to the Philia [Friendship] of the other cities that Athens came to great power and prosperity, just as it was due to Misos [Hatred] that she barely escaped the most extraordinary occurrence.

(Isokrates 15.121-122 [*Antidosis*, c. 354/3])

Philia's civic nature is implied in the 430s in her earliest representation, as a maenad, on the name vase (a bell krater) of the Eupolis Painter, in Vienna, **VP 10** (fig. 11.5). Here she walks with the generically named Satyra (meaning 'Female Satyr,' which is an oxymoron) in a civic festival procession; Philia holds a *barbitos* while Satyra holds libation vessels. They are led by a torch-bearing satyr boy named Eupolis. It is interesting to note also that there is a warrior named Eupolis in the *Amazonomakhia* scene on the bilingual *lekythos* by the Eretria Painter, **VP 18**. Eupolis' name is best translated adjectivally, "abounding in cities," and at least evokes the mood of civic pride (LSJ⁹ s.v. εὐπολῖς). As neither of her companions are true personifications, however, this Philia here may have been given such a euphemistic name simply to emphasise the civic nature of processions, and may not have been intended as a personification of civic friendship. This single vase is the only hint of a personified Philia in the fifth century. Yet, regardless of satyrs and political intent, it is allegorical. It suggests that friendship is a matter of civic pride. It also nicely foreshadows Philia's importance in 4th-century Athens.

Homonoia and Arete

Homonoia (ἡ ὁμόνοια), concord, like *philia*, is a favourite concept of the fifth-century sophists and other pre-Socratic thinkers, which they discussed in political contexts: Antiphon, *Peri tes*

homonoias, in 87 B44a DK (Guthrie, 1971: 286-290); *Athenaion politeia* 40.3 (Rosler, 2005: 210-214); Demosthenes 18.164, 20.12; Gorgias, *Peri tes homonoias* (82 B8a DK); Isokrates 8.13, 217; Lysias 18.17; Platon, *Alkibiades* 126c; Thoukydides 8.75, 93 (for political aspects of Homonoia in this period see Funke, 1980, and West, 1977). *Homonoia* was the international equivalent of *philia*, a bond that could bring together otherwise unrelated or unallied groups of people. At the end of the Peloponnesian War the Greeks swore allegiance to *homonoia* after the Battle of Aigospotamai (405) (Andokides 73.106-109, 140; Ostwald, 1986: 448-449; Jones, 1956: 77-84). The meaning of the word *homonoia* was evidently changed to 'unity' as a result of Athens's crisis of 411 (Thoukydides 8.75.2 and 8.93.3) and its use to call democrats to join together (see also Antiphon 87 B44-71; Thrasykakhos 85 B1; Gorgias 82 B8a DK). Homonoia may have been personified in Classical Attic art, given her popularity in literature and her later appearances in non-Attic art (Shapiro, 1990; Messerschmidt 2003, 53-60, 163, 182-183), but the secure evidence eludes us. It is interesting to note also that the antonyms of *Philia* and Homonoia, *neikos* (τό νεῖκος / feud) and *stasis* (ἡ στάσις / faction), respectively, are two of the four otherwise unattested "personifications" cited by Pseudo-Demosthenes as "companions whom painters couple with the damned souls in hell" (25.52; see **MP 5**). Homonoia was worshipped at various times as the epithet to other goddesses: Demeter Homonoia, Aphrodite Homonoia, and Artemis Thermia Homonoia (Thériault, 1996: 35, 39, and 188). And a 3rd-century inscription—Athens, EM 1928 (*IG II²* 4985)—reveals that Homonoia eventually received worship at Athens. Homonoia received an altar, possibly dating to the fourth century, at Olympia (Pausanias 5.14.9). A joint cult at Plataiai, of Homonoia of the Greeks and Zeus Eleutherios, noted in an inscription dated 261-246, attests the later worship of Homonoia in conjunction with peace agreements (Étienne & Piérart, 1975).

Homonoia is said to have been the sister of Arete (Goodness), and Ktesis (Acquisition), both daughters of Zeus Soter (Zeus the Saviour) and

Praxidike (She who exacts punishment) (*Suda s.v.* Πραξίδικη). Although no other sources mention personifications of Ktesis, Arete is well known as a personification in literature and particularly in the arts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Balty, 1984; see also the discussion in chapter 2, 17). Plinius reports that she was represented in a colossal statue by Euphranor, **S 9**:

He also made four-horse chariots, two-horse chariots, a very beautiful *Kleidoukhos* [key bearer], an Arete and a Hellas, both colossal figures, a woman shown as wondering and worshipping, and also Alexandros and Philip in four-horse chariots.

(Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 34.19.78)

Whereas Hellas (see chapters 3, 33, and 9, 91, 102) is elsewhere personified in visual arts, a visual representation of Arete is barely found before this time. An Amazon labelled 'Arete' and a Nereid labelled 'Eunomia' appear in different scenes on the bilingual *lekythos* in New York, attributed to the Eretria Painter, **VP 18**, which is dated to the 420s. It is likely that the Eretria Painter meant these to be evocative names, but not labels of the meaningful personifications discussed here, as neither bears any resemblance to known personifications of these figures in extant visual and literary arts of Athens. As noted in chapter 6, 74, Arete was connected with Eukleia and Eunomia at Aigina, but she does not appear with Eukleia and/or Eunomia in extant Attic arts.

Demokratia

While the earliest attestation of an altar to Demokratia (Democracy), at which she shared honours with Demos, is from the first century (*IG II²* 4992), already in the middle of the fifth century, Antiphon (6.45) mentions a ἱεροποιός (sacred overseer) and sacrifices "on behalf of the democracy," in conjunction with his discussion of the cult of Zeus Boulaioi (Zeus the Counsellor). This unusual use of democracy seems not to imply a cult of Democracy, but rather that the sacred overseer is conducting affairs on behalf of the democratic government (the council etc.).

Demokratia may have joined in cult with Tykhe and Eirene in the late fourth century. An inscription—IG II² 1496.107, 127, 131, 140-141—records offerings (in 333/2 and 332/1) to these three goddesses, among others, on a day before 17 *Boedromion*. James Oliver suggests that this day may have been 12 *Boedromion*, the day on which the Athenians celebrated the *χαριστήρια ἐλευθερίας*, the anniversary of the liberation of Athens (Oliver, 1960: 106-107).

As with *eirene* and *tykhe*, the term *demokratia*, ἡ δημοκρατία, was first discussed in the middle of the fifth century (summarised in Raaflaub, 2007: 108 T2, 112). Herodotos connected the establishment of the Athenian democracy with Kleisthenes' tribal reforms in 508 (Herodotos 6.43.3, 131.1). *Demokratia* became a catchword during the Periklean era (440s-430s), when it was defined in opposition to *oligarkhia* (oligarchy): in Perikles' 'Funeral Oration', Thoukydides defines *demokratia* as a form of government "run with a view to the interests of the majority, not of the few" (Thoukydides 2.37.1; trans. Ostwald, 1986: 183). This polarisation of *Demokratia* and *Oligarkhia* may have been represented in the visual arts, on the 'Tomb of Kritias' probably a group cenotaph (S 3):

After Kritias died they set up, as a memorial, Oligarkhy holding a torch, setting fire to Democracy, and they wrote on it: 'This is the tomb of good men who held the cursed demos of the Athenians from hybris for a little while'.
(Sch. Aiskhines 1.39 [=88 A13 DK])

Seemingly *Demokratia* and *Oligarkhia* here comprised a sculpture group. The torch motif in this composition may have been inspired by the Archaic Dike/Adikia group on Chest of Kypselos (Shapiro, 1993: 39-44; see also chapter 2, 14-15). The image is appropriate: Kritias died in 403 in the battle against Thrasyboulos that brought about the deposition of the Thirty Tyrants who were responsible for the oligarchy at Athens that year. If the scholiast who noted this unusual tomb was right, this earliest visual personification of *Demokratia* would predate our first indication of the worship that she received (in the 330s), as discussed above. *Demokratia*'s personification at

this time is not anachronistic. In the prologue to one of his comedies (in 411: Edmonds 1957, 916), the comic poet Heniokhos contrasted *Demokratia* (Democracy) and *Aristokratia* (Aristocracy), personified as young women (fr. 556 KA s.v. Heniokhos no. 5). Aristophanes' characters call on *Demokratia* in *Akharneis* 618 and *Ornithes* 1570. She is only given human action (but not form) in the latter play, *Ornithes* (produced in 414).

Because of the change in the law codes, the concept of *demokratia* took on a new significance in the fourth century, in the restored democracy of 403/2. The democrats responded to the terrible reign of "The Thirty" by enacting legislation that, for the first time, explicitly affirmed a democratic government (Ostwald, 1986: 500). The decrees of the Boule and Demos were subordinated to the *nomoi* (established laws) (Andokides 1.87; cf. Demosthenes 24.30; see also Hansen, 1979). The Assembly gave up the power of final validation of the *nomoi* and handed it over to the *nomothetai*, a special board of individuals who had sworn to uphold the laws (Demosthenes 20.92-94; see MacDowell, 1975). Thus in the new democracy, the Demos, the Body Politic, subordinated itself to the Laws themselves.

Demokratia was personified on several lost mid-fourth century art works. The most famous was a wall painting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleuthérios, in the Athenian Agora, by Euphranor of Isthmia (MP 6), whose *floruit* Plinius places in the 104th Olympiad (364) (Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.128-129). Here *Demokratia* appeared with Theseus and Demos. According to Pausanias the painting showed that Theseus brought political equality to the Athenians. Some have thought this message was conveyed through an image of Theseus giving *Demokratia* in marriage to Demos (Robertson, 1975: 436). Most have supposed that it showed *Demokratia* crowning Demos, as shown on the anti-tyranny decree from the Agora, DR 40 (fig. 9.11) (Raubitschek, 1962: 238). That relief decorates a decree of the *nomothetai*, dated to 337/6, that prohibited the Areopagos from functioning under a tyrant (SEG 12.87). It therefore reflects the paranoia of the democrats in the aftermath of Athens' defeat

by Makedonia, in the battle of Khaironeia (338). Eukrates, a staunch democratic orator, proposed this law after Khaironeia and the subsequent guarantee of Democracy by Philip. The pairing of Democracy with Demos is likely on this relief set up in the Agora, given Euphranor's earlier representation of Demos and Demokratia, with Theseus, in the nearby Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (MP 6) (Meritt, 1952: 355). Whether or not it mimicked the image on Euphranor's painting, however, the depiction of Demos and Democracy on this relief suits the text of the attached decree, which repeatedly pairs the two political entities.

An inscribed statue base, S 12, also found in the Athenian Agora, indicates the presence of a statue of Demokratia. Tony Raubitschek's restoration of the inscription is as follows (Raubitschek, 1962: 238):

[Δη]μοκρατ[ί]α [Ἡ Βουλὴ ἡ] ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους
ἄ[ρ]χοντος [ἀνέθηκ]εν στεφανωθείσα ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ
δήμου [ἀρετ]ῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικ[αι]οσύνη[ς]

Democracy. The Council, in the Arkhonship of Nikokrates, set up this statue, after it (Boule) had been crowned by the Demos for its virtue and justice.

The mention of the Arkhonship of Nikokrates helps us to date the erection of the statue to 333/2, which is coincidentally the same time as the earliest attestation of Demokratia's cult (noted above, 125). Yet a statue does not presuppose a cult, and the mere presence of a statue, let alone its base, does not confirm that Demokratia received worship in the Agora. Palagia earlier suggested that the monumental Agora torso, S 10, might have been this statue of Demokratia, but she has since recanted: that statue would have been too large for the extant base (Palagia, 1994: 117, *contra* Palagia, 1982: 111). Two other inscriptions allude to a statue of Demokratia (presumably S 12): Athens, EM 12749, a decree of 306/5, authorises a statue of Demetrios Poliorketes to be placed next

to a statue of Demokratia in the Agora (Messerschmidt, 2003: 166-167 cat. Dk 1.2; Raubitschek, 1962: 241; Wycherley, 1957: 210 no. 696); while IG II² 1011.62 (SEG 46.25, 2371) is a later ephebic inscription of 106/5 (Messerschmidt, 2003: 167 cat. Dk 1.3; Raubitschek, 1962: 241; Pelekidis 1962, 201; Grasberger, 1962: 1-5).

The worship of political personifications

In late Classical Athens the concern for international *homonoia* and *eirene* was paralleled in domestic affairs with a concern for civic harmony, characterised by *philia*, *eirene*, *ploutos*, and above all, *tykhe*. It is appropriate that Demokratia also came to be worshipped in Athens after the Common Peace (of 371), when defense against the (Spartan) suppression of freedom was translated into defense against the antidemocratic tendencies of the Persians and Makedonians. As part of the popularisation of these political concepts, they were personified in visual arts, as in literature, and most were deified by the second half of the fourth century. Although Eirene and perhaps Tykhe were known in the arts of fifth century Athens, the earliest attestations of their worship belong to the fourth century, when their importance as civic deities came to be widely acknowledged. Demokratia received due but belated reverence, only when her existence was threatened. She may have appeared on the tomb of Kritias (S 3) following the tyranny of the Thirty (403) and certainly received her own cult by the 330s. It is in the third quarter of the fourth century also that Eirene and Tykhe came together in cult with Demokratia. The epiphany of these three goddesses together eludes us in the artistic sources, yet they collaborated with Demos in the quintessential fourth century Athenian hope, that Peace in the presence of Democracy would bring Good Fortune to the Populace.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

Much of Greek political thought is concerned with defining what the virtues are, how virtue-talk can be applied to particular situations, and why the virtues are important for and necessary to political life.... it is clear and important that the political discourse of ancient Greece was carried on in the terms and categories provided by Greek thinking about the virtues.

Ryan K. Balot (2006: 11-12)

Why did Classical Athenian artists represent personifications of civic virtues and other political things? There is no one correct answer. Most political personifications depicted in the Classical period were general and optimistic. Art works on which they appeared were visions of an idealised *polis*, which advertised those features of Athenian society and politics in which her citizens took pride: the political institutions they had come to cherish and their hopes for a prosperous future. Yet in a few cases their inclusion may be explained in a less general manner. We can sometimes infer specific messages, or deduce particular occasions on which some political personifications might have been used.

The evidence for this iconographic phenomenon reveals a clear pattern of development. The Classical period saw increases not only in the number of political personifications but also in the variety of art works on which they appeared and in the public exposure of these art works. While the early Classical artists used some personifications of abstract concepts as non-political participants in traditional myths (such as Eris at the Judgment of Paris), as had their Archaic predecessors, they also began to use these and other personifications to express political ideas, in both mythic and non-mythic contexts. Harmonia, for example, is shown in the Kadmos myth but also in the 'gardens of Aphrodite.' Personifications also become more blatant. Whereas many of the

early Classical personifications alluded indirectly to political matters—particularly the expansion of the Athenian empire—by the fourth century most messages expressed through political personifications were quite straightforward. The personifications on **DR 47**, for example, show that the Demos and Boule of Athens honoured Asklepiodoros. One needs to read the full text of the document attached to this relief to know that Asklepiodoros was Athens' ambassador to Phokis, during the Greek revolt after the death of Alexandros. The fact that he was honoured by the citizens of Athens is made clear, however, in the picture.

Personifications are not evidence of deification but may have brought some political concepts closer to the people who revered and eventually deified some of them. Similarly, religion played a role in publicising personifications. Images of the 'gardens of Aphrodite', with or without labels, give a good sense of the importance of 'nymphs', Kharites, and / or Horai in Aphrodite's cults at Athens. Cults for Nemesis and Peitho are attested in the Archaic period, and Demos was worshipped by the middle of the fifth century. While Athenian artists were innovative in their use of visual personifications, historical sources suggest that Athenians lagged behind the rest of Greece in worshipping them. Cults for personifications popularly shown in the last third of the fifth century—Themis, Eunomia, Eukleia, and perhaps Eirene—are not attested in Attika until the fourth century, a long time after they had begun to receive worship elsewhere in Greece. This apparent lag at Athens in the elevation of (political) personifications to cult status confirms the literary sources that suggest fifth century Athenians were resistant to introducing new gods (Garland, 1992). Here the decisive influence may

have come from the sophists and from dramatists who popularized their ideas: Euripides, for example, expresses a reluctance to deify Peitho and Tykhe. The intellectual avant-garde may not have been the only factor, however, as there was also a conservative tendency in late fifth century Athens to restrict worship to the Olympians. This may explain why personifications in this period such as Athena Hygieia, were depicted (if not worshipped) with the Olympian gods, as attendants, or even as epithets. Such settings would have made them palatable to suspicious, traditionally minded citizens. As the fourth century progressed, the personifications and their cults seem to have become separated from the Olympians. (Agathe) Tykhe was worshipped at some time with Zeus, according to the inscription on R 7, but by the end of the Classical period her cult was joined with those of Eirene and Demokratia. Perhaps the increased importance of such personifications in the popular religion of fourth century Athens gave artists the freedom to express their personifications openly.

The interaction of art with literature was more complex. Although literature had a head start in the general use of personifications, the use of personifications with political meanings began in both visual and literary arts in the first quarter of the fifth century. Many of the personifications treated in this study, however, are known only from extant visual sources, or were used first in visual arts. There is, then, little evidence that the visual artists copied the poets or *vice versa*, although there may have been a link between some political personifications in visual arts and comedies. The extensive use of personifications in fifth century dramas, whether tragedies or comedies, unquestionably brought personification into the mainstream of Classical Athenian life.

What is the historical significance of political personifications? My study of these figures has focused attention on whether or not they expressed matters of immediate concern to the populace and politicians of Classical Athens. In a few instances personifications may be connected with particular historical events—for example, Eirene's appearance in vase painting, and espe-

cially in Aristophanes' *Eirene* shortly before the establishment of the peace of Nikias. In most cases, however, the significance of personifications lies in their reflection of the prevailing political climate. The use of local personifications and other symbolic characters in the early Classical period may reflect the spread of Athenian power under the empire. The majority of personifications in Attic art during the Peloponnesian War evoked civic ideals, concepts and events that would benefit the *oikos*, *deme*, or *polis*, and improve the lives of individual citizens. As Balot points out, "...individual virtue either naturally was or ought to be directed towards the traditional values of the *polis*" (Balot, 2006: 15). Some of these ideals were catchwords repeated often enough that they came to be associated with particular activities, for example, Peitho in reference to the eloquence of politicians. The visual evidence for their partisan affiliations is, however, inconclusive, and even conflicting. Perhaps popularisation aided by artistic representation preceded partisan exploitation of these ideals. With the exception of Demos, whose popularity in the fourth century may have been a democratic response to the tyranny of the Thirty, indications of partisan uses of political personifications disappear after the fifth century. Ploutos' popularity in the middle of the fourth century, for example, reflects the paramount importance of grain imports to Athens at this time: grain supplies are a non-partisan political concern.

Most political personifications were popular in one of the three periods I distinguished in the introduction: before the Peloponnesian War; in the years of the Peloponnesian War and its aftermath; or in the era from the Second Athenian Confederacy to the Battle of Krannon. Demos and Eirene, however, remained important at Athens in the latter two of these periods, both in the fifth and fourth centuries. The political and social role of Demos evolved through the fifth century, so that this personification, as well as the body of citizens that he represented, was viewed in conflicting ways, both sympathetically and antagonistically, by Athenians as well as foreigners. According to Plinius's testimony,

Parrhasios' late fifth century painting of Demos (**MP 2**) actually reflected this mixed view of the Athenian *demos*. As the sovereign of Athens, however, Demos warranted reverence, and had accordingly received worship since the middle of the fifth century. In the fourth century he takes over the role of the patron deity Athena, as the awarder of honours on document reliefs, and sometimes shares this role with Boule. This reflects the increasingly respectful and protective attitude with which Athenians came to view their legislative system. On monumental paintings and statuary (at home and abroad), as well as document reliefs, Demos, eventually with *Demokratia*, symbolises not just Athens and her people, but also the democracy that Athenians sought to defend from tyrants, whether internal oligarchs or foreign invaders. Demos is thus an expression of the Athenians' pride in their political system, with the result that its meaning merges with that of *demokratia* by the third century (for the latter see Mikalson, 1998: 178).

The image of Eirene changed with her role at Athens, from the fifth to the fourth centuries. While her connection with fertility persisted through her association with Dionysos and *Opore* in the fifth century and her later role as the mother (or bearer) of Ploutos in the fourth century, her appearance changed from that of a young maenad (in the circle of Dionysos) to a mature, matronly woman. The potential peace that Eirene personified was not widely popular in the era of the Peloponnesian War, which perhaps explains her infrequent appearances at this time. By the middle of the fourth century, however, Athenians of all political leanings turned their attention towards a lasting peace and worshipped Eirene.

For whom were these personifications created? Personification was at first (and remained) an artistic device that entertained the artists and the gods. What did it matter if no one else understood the personifications? As the device of personification caught on, it became a useful form of communication, not merely among artists, patrons, and their gods, but also among the public who were increasingly familiar with the images of per-

sonifications and perhaps their labels. Different groups of political personifications suited particular functions and therefore decorated different types of art works. Occasional public audiences—such as onlookers at weddings—certainly saw the personifications on 'private' arts, whether or not they understood their full meanings. Perhaps the ambiguous nature of these images of personifications and their political overtones piqued the interest of the primary consumers, individuals who might have mused over the figures, their labels and their separate or shared significance. Zahra Newby recognises that "... labels can also hint at a narrative that the viewer is supposed to construct for him or herself..." but perhaps wrongly sees this as a characteristic of later art, beginning in the Hellenistic period (Newby & Leader-Newby, 2007: 11).

The duality of personifications—physical and spiritual personae—becomes clearer in later periods: Hellenistic personifications are (1) physical manifestations of particular things or concepts and (2) spiritual essences of these things or concepts. As Stephen Kershaw has noted, the Alexandrian poets exploited this duality for artistic effect (Kershaw, 1986: 1.5). Our literary sources for myth, which tend to be Hellenistic or later, therefore blur or obscure any distinction between spiritual beings that were created in an artistic milieu and those that were worshipped by the 'wo/man in the street'. Peitho provides a good example, however, of a personification whose personality might adapt to these different contexts: she is a trickster for politicians, an enabler for couples and families, and ambivalent in the myth of the Leukippidai shown on the Hamilton Vase (**fig. 1.2**, top).

Throughout ancient Greek culture it is impossible to segregate religious from political features. Cult statues and votive reliefs that attest the worship of some political personifications played public roles that were primarily religious, but sometimes indirectly political. For instance, the cult statue of the vegetation deity Nemesis (**S 2**) alluded indirectly to her political side, through the depiction on its base (**R 1**) of the Helene myth, an archetype for the Greek defeat of the

Persians (fig. 4.1). Publicly displayed statue bases and document reliefs, on the other hand, were created for a variety of non-religious purposes, which were explicitly political. Each relief was a shorthand illustration of the political significance of the document that it surmounted, or the statue that it bore, and the message was effected through the interaction of political personifications (some created *ad hoc* for these contexts) with each other and with mortals, heroes, and traditional deities.

What of the foreign audience? Perhaps Athenian artists were aware of the increasing demand for their vases abroad, and even took advantage of the opportunity to advertise Athenian civic ideals. We know that many of these vases ultimately served funerary purposes, as they were found in tombs in Italy, and even as far afield as Spain (VP 47). A thorough study of the propaganda value of images on exported Attic vases is beyond the scope of this study. In the early to middle fourth century, however, while there is a marked decline in the production of Attic red figure wares, which brings an end to the elaborate Meidian vessels that were the 'canvas' for Aphrodite and her entourage of civic personifications, personifications proliferated on 'Kerch style' vases (VP 58-59 among others) and other artworks made for export. The use of personifications such as Eirene and Tykhe on Panathenaic *amphorae* (VP 60-68), commissioned by a public board, reminds us that they were not meant to be appreciated only by local Athenian customers. The Panathenaic *amphorae* travelled with the Panathenaic athletes who won them as prizes. Ploutos also travelled on the Kerch vases that are named for the Black Sea region to which they were frequently exported. Personifications on reliefs decorating document stelai, which generally date to the fourth century, were aimed, however, at a primarily Athenian audience (Lawton, 1995a: 17-19). Although provisions were made for the duplication of stelai recording treaties, and the subsequent erection of these duplicates in the foreign *poleis* with which Athens had made agreements, Lawton (1995a: 27) notes that:

Most of the documents originally signaled out for decoration with reliefs concern the foreign and financial affairs of the Athenian empire, and since their reliefs consistently emphasize political unity, they appear to have been designed as a further means of appealing to the public, with the particular purpose of promoting the Athenian imperial point of view.

Towards the middle of the fourth century a large proportion of document reliefs showed personifications of local legislative bodies such as Demos and Boule. These reliefs advertised honours and victories that foreigners and natives alike had received at Athens, and their number seems to have increased as Athens' international and domestic agendas merged.

Political personifications reflect the overwhelmingly civic society in which Classical Athenians lived, so that one can hardly divide public from private. Nemesis' role in the Helene myth alludes to political indignation—against Troia, Persia, even Perikles—but also to personal indignation, which is clearly portrayed on the Heimarmene Painter's name vase (VP 16). Harmonia personifies political harmony as well as private union (marriage), and aptly represents both in her role as a (mythic) bride. A wedding was a public recognition of an agreement made between two groups of people. The virtues to which she and other civic personifications on wedding vessels alluded were simultaneously private and public. This is confirmed by their inclusion in the sphere of Aphrodite. With her epithet, Pandemos, Aphrodite played a political role in bringing together the people of Athens. The private/civic dualism of these images was prominent in the era of the Peloponnesian War when politicians emphasized the importance of marriage and procreation for the betterment of the city. But Aristoteles' writings make it clear that virtues were no less important in fourth-century Athenian politics. The increasing importance of civic virtues to the *oikoi*, *demes*, and *polis* of democratic Athens explain why the imagery of Bazant's so-called 'women's world' replaced that of his 'man's world' in fifth-century Athens (Bazant, 1990). This gradual replacement

is in fact the shift from aristocratic to democratic ideology. Speaking more generally about Classical Athenian art, not just personifications, Eric Csapo and Margaret Miller declare “we are not dealing with a sudden or simple replacement of one ideological system by another, but with a gradual shift from an aristocratic to a democratic dominant. We are dealing, in other words, with two competing ideological systems which eventually became coeval and ubiquitous, though at any place and moment they might differ in their relative degree of ascendancy and their level of articulation” (Csapo & Miller, 1998: 89).

In stark contrast to the demonic personifications of the Archaic period, optimistic evocations of success, fertility, and prosperity pervade the images of political personifications throughout the Classical period, despite slight variations in the personifications represented. Political personifications play an important role in self-congratulatory images—for example, allusions in the early Classical period to Athenian maritime power and Imperial influence; Alkibiades’ late fifth century portraits advertising his victories at Panhellenic games (**MP 3-4**); document reliefs and statue bases commemorating public honours

and awards received. In the era of the Peloponnesian War, civic prosperity, political success, and personal happiness are combined in the flourishing ‘gardens of Aphrodite’, and with agricultural prosperity and sexual bliss in the world of Dionysos: on **VP 35** Dionysos embraces Eirene (**fig. 7.3**). The fertility theme is fundamental to Eirene’s fourth-century debut with Ploutos in Kephisodotos’ statue (**S 4, fig. 2.1**). It also underpins the inclusion of Eirene and Ploutos with the fertility deities worshipped at Eleusis. The optimism expressed through all of these political personifications culminates, in the third quarter of the fourth century, in the joint worship of *Demokratia*, Eirene, and Agathe Tykhe. Athens’ hopes indeed rested on the concepts that these three goddesses personified: the preservation of Democracy and the sovereign *Demos* that enabled its existence; a lasting Peace that would nourish the *Demos* with Wealth; and the Good Fortune of the *Demos*, which would protect the individual citizens and the *polis*. Despite the reverence and eventual worship of these political personifications, *Demokratia* and Eirene eventually failed, and Agathe Tykhe alone remained to protect the *Demos* through the rule of foreign powers.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue details individual works that are central to this study—all art works, extant or attested by literary sources, from 480 to 322 BCE, created by or for Athenians, that contain personifications of entities of political significance. I have made every effort to conduct first-hand study of each extant object, and indicate in parentheses *v.* (= *vide*) for those that I have personally seen and *n.v.* (= *non vide*) for those that I have not seen, but rather studied through available photographs. The works are divided into sub-catalogues according to the medium in which they were created, and are ordered chronologically within those categories. I provide an approximate range of dates (usually a decade for vases) for most works but a specific date for those that can be securely dated on the basis of written primary evidence, such as inscriptions. Because the Athenian calendar year began in the middle of the Julian calendar year that we now use, an Athenian year would cross two of our years, and must be expressed therefore with two years, e.g. 413/2. An underscore, e.g. 413̄/2 or 413/2̄, moreover, indicates whether the monument may be dated to the first or second half of the Athenian year. Each catalogue entry includes recent bibliography, along with relevant *ABV*, *ARV*², *CVA*, and *UKV* references, and *BA* (Beazley Archive) numbers (for vases) or *SEG* and *IG* numbers (for inscribed works). Measurements of height (H.) and width (W.), where available, are provided in metres. ‘P.’ before the measurement abbreviation denotes that only the preserved measurement is available.

Document reliefs

DR 1 (v.): Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

RO.III.95. Fig. 9.17

Relief from a treaty (?) document (*IG* I³ 148)

P.H. 0.14; P.W. 0.104

Messana (ΜΕΣΣΑ[...]) stands to the right.

420-410

From Athens

SEG 42.250.

Lawton, 1995a: 114 no. 66, pl. 34.

DR 2 (v.): Athens, AM 2552 + AM 2552a

Relief from an honorary (?) decree (= *IG* I³ 191)

P.H. 0.22; P.W. 0.18-0.235

Hermes (?) stands to the right, facing a female (?) honorand (?) who stands to the right, accepting a crown (?) from a missing figure, next to Boule (?), who stands to the left.

420-410

From Athens, Akropolis

Lawton, 1995a: 120 no. 77, pl. 41.

DR 3 (n.v.): Location unknown (formerly Peiraieus)

Relief from an inscription concerning the cult of Bendis (*IG* I³ 136)

Demos (?) stands to the right.

P.H. 0.39; P.W. 0.23

432-411 (413/2?)

From Peiraieus

SEG 53.31; 50.1759; 49.51, 861; 47.64; 46.21.

Beschi, 2002: 13-19; Lawton, 1995a: 116-117 no. 70, pl. 37.

DR 4 (v.): Athens, EM 6928. Fig. 9.18

Relief from a document (*IG I³ 124*) concerning Bithynian Kios

H. 0.185; W. 0.245

Athena stands to the right, facing Kios (KIOΣ), with whom she shakes hands.

406/5

From Athens, Akropolis, Propylaia (found 1837) *SEG* 55.963; 53.205, 1062; 45.1691.

Ritter, 1997: 25-26, fig. 1; Lawton, 1995a: 87 no. 9, pl. 5.

DR 5 (v.): Athens, Agora I 7121. Fig. 9.19

Relief from a decree (*IG II² 20*) in which Athens honours King Euagoras of Salamis (Cyprus)

P.H. 0.075; P.W. 0.225

Salamis (?) stands to the left.

394/3?

From Athens, Agora, Section BΔ #132 (found 1970)

SEG 54.2180; 39.63.

Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 11; Lawton, 1995a: 122 no. 84, pl. 44.

DR 6 (v.): Athens, EM 6941

Relief from a decree (*IG II² 31*) honouring Hebryzelmis, King of the Odrysai

P.H. 0.195; P.W. 0.405

Thrake (?) stands in a frontal pose, between two riders (one missing), on horseback, who face her from either side.

386/5

From Athens, Akropolis (found 1889)

SEG 55.21; 54.624; 53.39; 45.48, 830.

Lawton, 1995a: 91 no. 18, pl. 10.

DR 7 (v.): Athens, AM 2429

Relief from a document (?)

P.H. 0.18; P.W. 0.23

Athena stands to the right, facing Boule (?), who stands to the left.

380-370

From Athens, probably Akropolis

Meyer, 1989: 281 A 54, pl. 18.1; Komninos, 1986: 146 s.v. Boule no. 12.

DR 8 (v.): Athens, AM 2549 + AM 2717

Relief from a document (?), with possible representations of Boule and Demos

AM 2549: P.H. 0.25; P.W. 0.375

AM 2717: P.H. 0.28; P.W. 0.29

Demos (?) stands to the right; a hoplite stands in a nearly frontal pose; a goddess stands to the left, raising her right hand to crown him (?); while Boule (?), stands to the left, raising her right arm, probably to hold her veil over her right shoulder.

First quarter of the fourth century

From Athens, probably Akropolis

Lawton, 1984: 366-367 no. 180, pl. 94b.

DR 9 (v.): Athens, AM 2427 + AM 2758

Relief from an honorary decree for a priestess of Athena (?)

P.H. 0.30; P.W. 0.555

Herakles (?) leans to the right, holding a club (?) in his right hand; Athena sits to the right, crowning a female honorand who raises her right hand (in adoration?); Demos (?) stands to the left, holding a wreath (?).

First quarter of the fourth century

AM 2758: Athens, Akropolis, near the Erekhtheion (found 1860)

Lawton, 1995a: 125 no. 91, pl. 48.

DR 10 (v.): Athens, NM 1467. Fig. 9.10

Relief from an alliance decree (*IG II² 97*) between Athens and Korkyra

H. 0.295; W. 0.475

Demos (?), seated on a rock to the right, faces Korkyra (?) and Athena, who both stand slightly to the left; Korkyra (?) reaches her right hand to her veil.

After 375/4 (?)

From Athens, Akropolis, South Slope, Asklepieion (found 1876)

SEG 52.1955; 51.17; 50.136; 47.2313

Messerschmidt, 2003: 13-14, 16, 168 cat. D 2, fig. 2; Kaltsas, 2002: 238-239 no. 503 (ill.); Ritter 1997, 25-26, fig. 3; Boardman, 1995: fig. 149; Lawton, 1995a: 126-127 no. 96, pl. 50.

DR 11 (v.): Athens, EM 2784

Relief from a decree of unidentifiable nature (*IG* II² 90)

P.H. 0.12; P.W. 0.115

Boule (?) stands to the left, perhaps extending a crown.

First half of the fourth century

Lawton, 1995a: 131 no. 109, pl. 57; Meyer, 1989: 311 A 166.

DR 12 (v.): Athens, EM 2796

Relief from an unidentified decree (*IG* II² 167), probably regarding a treaty or alliance

P.H. 0.223; P.W. 0.265

An honorand (?) stands to the left, raising his right hand (in adoration?) to Demos (?), who stands to the right, shaking hands with the figure opposite (Athena?).

First half of the fourth century

From Athens

Lawton, 1995a: 131 no. 110, pl. 58.

DR 13 (v.): Athens, NM 2953

Relief from an honorary decree (?)

P.H. 0.407; P.W. 0.285

An honorand stands to the right, raising his right hand (in adoration?) to Boule (?) who stands to

the left, across a low altar, holding a crown (?) in her right hand.

First half of the fourth century

From Athens

Lawton, 1984: 380-381 no. 197, pl. 103a.

DR 14 (v.): Athens, EM 7024

Relief on a decree (*IG* II² 110) honouring Menelaos of Pelagonia

P.H. 0.12; W. 0.42

An honorand (?) stands to the right, facing Demos (?) and Athena, who stand slightly to the left.

363/2

From Athens, Akropolis (found 1860)

SEG 53.2180; 51.87.

Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 38; Messerschmidt, 2003: 14, 168-169, cat. D 3; Lawton, 1995a: 93-94 no. 23, pl. 12.

DR 15 (v.): Athens, NM 1481

Relief on an alliance decree between Athens and Peloponnesian states (Arkadia, Akhaia, Elis, and Phleious) (*IG* II² 112; SEG 42.1767)

P.H. 0.218; W. 0.49

Athena stands to the right, behind Peloponnesos (?), who likewise stands to the right and raises her right hand to her veil; both face Zeus, seated on a throne to the left.

362/1

From Athens, Akropolis, South Slope

SEG 55.17; 54.111, 489; 53.2180; 52.487; 51.17; 50.139; 47.2313; 42.176.

Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 41; Kaltsas, 2002: 235 no. 493 (ill.); Dušanić, 2000: 59-71; Rolley, 1999: 211-112 fig. 201; Lawton, 1995a: 94 no. 24, pl. 13.

DR 16 (v.): Athens, EM 6954

Relief from a decree (ex *IG* II² 55) concerning Athens and Aphytis (?)

P.H. 0.20; W. 0.335

Aphytis (?) stands in a frontal pose, holding a *phiale* in her right hand.

Second quarter of the fourth century
Lawton, 1995a: 129-130, no. 104, pl. 55.

DR 17 (v.): Athens, NM 1473. Fig. 9.8

Relief from an honorary decree (IG II² 46k)
P.H. 0.26; P.W. 0.265
Boule (BOAH) and Athena stand to the right, facing an honorand (?), who stands to the left, raising his right hand (in adoration?); a fourth figure (missing), perhaps Demos.

Second quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, Akropolis, South Slope, Asklepion (found 1860)
SEG 53.37; 50.172; 35.141, 147.
Lawton, 2003: 124, fig. 9; Messerschmidt, 2003: 48-49, 181 cat. B 2, fig. 14; Lawton, 1995a: 142-143 no. 142, pl. 75.

DR 18 (v.): Athens, AM 2663. Fig. 9.12

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.245; W. 0.325

An honorand (?), stands to the right, raising his hand (in adoration?) to Athena, who stands to the left, reaching a crown (?) towards his head; Boule (?) stands to the left, raising her right hand and holding a wreath/crown (?) in her left hand.

Mid-fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis
Lawton, 1995a: 132-133 no. 116, pl. 61.

DR 19 (v.): Athens, EM 2788

Relief from an honorary decree (?)
P.H. 0.29; P.W. 0.305

Demos stands to the right, offering a crown (?) to an honorand (?), who stands to the left; a third figure is now missing.

Mid-fourth century
From Athens, Akropolis, North side of the Parthenon
Lawton, 1995a: 132, no. 115, pl. 60.

DR 20 (v.): Athens, EM 2791

Relief from a proxeny (?) decree (IG II² 160)
P.H. 0.155; P.W. 0.27

Athena or Boule (now missing) faces an honorand, who stands to the left along with Demos ([...]ΔΡΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ).

Mid-late fourth century
Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 172 cat. D 13; Lawton, 1995a: 133 no. 117, pl. 61.

DR 21 (v.): Athens, EM 2798

Relief from an unknown document
P.H. 0.275; P.W. 0.19
Demos (?) stands to the left.

Mid-fourth century
Lawton, 1995a: 153 no. 168, pl. 88.

DR 22 (v.): Athens, Agora S 1139

Relief from a document (?)
P.H. 0.275; P.W. 0.295
Demos (?), stands in a frontal view; Athena stands to the left, holding a *phiale* (?) in her right hand.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, Agora, section OA #1011, U 26 (found 1939)
Lawton, 1995b: 126-128, pl. 35b; Rocco, 1991: 409 no. 5, pl. 109.

DR 23 (v.): Athens, AM 3006. Fig. 9.14

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.3; P.W. 0.52
Boule or Makedonia stands slightly to the right, towards an honorand, perhaps Antipater or Asander, who stands in a frontal pose; Athena stands to the left, raising her right hand to crown the honorand.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis
Palagia, 1998: 19-20, 23 fig. 17; Lawton, 1995a: 141-142 no. 140, pl. 74.

DR 24 (v.): Athens, AM 6787

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.14; P.W. 0.263

An honorand, who stands in a frontal pose, is crowned by Demos (?) and Athena, who stand on either side of him, facing him.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis
Lawton, 1995a: 140 no. 134, pl. 71; Meyer, 1989: 297 A 112, pl. 48.1.

DR 25 (v.): Athens, NM 2407

Relief from an honorary (?) decree (*IG* II² 4630)
P.H. 0.32; P.W. 0.335

Demos ([Δ]ΗΜΟΣ) sits on a throne to the left; Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑ) and Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) stand to the left, both raising their right hands (with crowns?). The figures are labelled on the inscribed architrave.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, in the vicinity of the Church of Άγιος Dhimítrios Loumbardhiáris, between the Pnyx and the Philopappos Monument (found 1840)
SEG 55.181; 53.205; 47.30; 43.1294.
Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 169 cat. D 4, fig. 3;
Lawton, 1995a: 139 no. 133, pl. 71.

DR 26 (v.): Athens, NM 2952 + NM 2961

Relief from an honorary decree
NM 2952: P.H. 0.287; P.W. 0.3
NM 2961: P.H. 0.165; P.W. 0.235
Two honorands in nearly frontal poses between Athena and Demos (?), who award crowns to them from either side.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens
Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 169 cat. D 5; Lawton, 1995a: 136-137, no. 126, pl. 67.

DR 27 (v.): Athens, NM 2985

Relief from a decree (*IG* II² 406) honouring a man from Kroton (?)
H. 0.395; W. 0.54

Demos (?) stands to the right; a coiled snake rises from the ground; Athena (Parthenos), stands to the left, holding Nike on her extended right hand.

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens, Akropolis, Propylaia (found 1849)
SEG 54.124; 40.66.
Ritter 1997, 29-31, fig. 9; Lawton, 1995a: 139 no. 132, pl. 70.

DR 28 (n.v.): Athens, NM 2986

Relief from an honorary decree (?)
W. 0.64

Demos (?) stands slightly to the right, raising his right arm to award a crown (?); Athena (?) stands in a frontal pose, raising her left hand to hold a sceptre (?); an honorand stands to the left, raising his right hand slightly to the left (in adoration?).

Third quarter of the fourth century
From Athens
Lawton, 1995a: 135-136 no. 123, pl. 66.

DR 29 (v.): London, BM 771

Relief from an honorary decree
H. 0.285; W. 0.42
Boule (?) stands to right, raising her veil in her left hand, and a crown (now missing) in her right hand; an honorand stands in a frontal pose; Athena stands to the left, crowning the honorand, and touches her shield, at her left side, with her right hand.

Third quarter of the fourth century
Probably from Athens
Messerschmidt, 2003: 49, 181 cat. B 3; Lawton, 1995a: 136 no. 124, pl. 66.

DR 30 (n.v.): Athens, Agora AS 146

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.38; P.W. 0.22

An honorand stands in a frontal pose, while he is crowned by Demos (?), who stands to the left.

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens, Akropolis, near the 'Cave of Aglauros' (found 1937)
Glowacki, 2003: 447-466.

DR 31 (v.): Athens, AM 3304

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.115; P.W. 0.285

Athena or Demos (missing) faces Boule (?), who stands to the left, raising her right hand to crown an honorand.

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis
Lawton, 1995a: 151 no. 163, pl. 85.

DR 32 (v.): Athens, AM 7231

Relief from an honorary decree
H. 0.26; W. 0.405

Demos (?) stands to the right, reaching his right hand to crown the honorand, who stands in a frontal pose; Athena stands to the left, extending a second crown (?) to the honorand.

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis.
Messerschmidt, 2003: 20, 171 cat. D 11, fig. 5;
Lawton, 1995a: 154 no. 172, pl. 89.

DR 33 (v.): Athens, EM 2809. Fig. 9.9

Relief from an honorary decree
H. 0.222; P.W. 0.345

Demos (?) sits on a throne to the right, reaching his right hand to crown the honorand, who stands to the left, raising his right hand (in adoration?).

Second half of the fourth century
Lawton, 1995a: 153 no. 167, pl. 87.

DR 34 (v.): Athens, NM 2404

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.31; W. 0.395

Boule (?) stands in a near frontal pose, raising her right hand to her veil (?); beyond an honorand, likewise in a nearly frontal pose, stands Demos (?), to the left, reaching his right hand to crown the honorand, and cradling a tall torch-like item in his left arm.

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens, Akropolis
Lawton, 1995a: 152 no. 165, pl. 86.

DR 35 (v.): Athens, NM 2946

Relief from an honorary decree (for a military man?)
P.H. 0.285; P.W. 0.445

Athena stands to the right; an honorand (?) and Demos (?) stand to the left, Demos (Δ[HMOΣ]) crowning the honorand.

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens, probably Akropolis
Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 170 cat. D 8; Lawton, 1995a: 145-146 no. 149, pl. 79.

DR 36 (v.): Berlin Museums Sk 808

Relief from an honorary decree
P.H. 0.248; P.W. 0.535

Boule (?) stands to the right, facing a youth, Hippothoon (the *phyle* hero), who also stands to the right, holding horse reins (once painted?) in his left hand and extending in his right hand a wreath to an honorand, who stands to the left raising his right hand (in adoration?).

Second half of the fourth century
From Athens
Lawton, 1995a: 145 no. 148, pl. 78.

DR 37 (n.v.): Unknown

Lost relief from an honorary decree (of a *deme*, probably Aixone)

An honorand stands slightly to the right, facing Demos (ΔΗ[ΜΟΣ]) of the *deme* (?), who stands to the left, extending his right hand to crown him.

Second half of the fourth century

From Attika, Trakhónes

Lawton, 1995a: 155 no. 176, pl. 91; Meyer, 1989: 314 A 182, pl. 52.4.

DR 38 (v.): Athens, NM 1471

Relief on a document (IG II² 212) honouring Spartakos II, Pairisades I, and Apollonios of the Krimean Bosporos (the sons of Leukon, ruler of the Bosporan kingdom)

H. 0.69; W. 0.615

Two long-haired, bearded honorands (?) sit to the right, on a throne with lion's feet, both raising a hand (in adoration?) to Demos (?), who stands to the left.

From Peiraieus, between the Church of Áyios Spyridhon and the Custom's House (found 1877)

SEG 55.21, 1998; 53.37, 39, 2180; 51.17; 50.1712; 47.131; 42.229, 245.

Rhodes, 2010: 78; Lawton, 2003: 120-121, fig. 5; Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 64; Kaltsas, 2002: 235 no. 494 (ill.); Löhr, 2000: 132-133; Rolley, 1999: 217 fig. 208; Heinen, 1996: 357-368; Lawton, 1995a: 98-99 no. 35, pl. 18.

DR 39 (v.): Athens, Agora I 657

Relief on an honorary decree (of the *phyle* Aiantis?)

P.H. 0.14; P.W. 0.245

An honorand (?) stands to the left, reaching towards Aias (? now missing); Salamis (ΣΑΛΑΜΙ[Σ], in the left field) stands to the left, reaching with her right hand to crown (?) the honorand.

346/5?

Athens, Agora, Section Z # 403, Southeast of the Tholos (H 12) (found 1933)

Lawton, 1995a: 134 no. 120, pl. 63.

DR 40 (v.): Athens, Agora I 6524. Fig. 9.11

Relief on an Athenian law against tyranny (a decree of the *nomothetai*) (SEG 12.87)

H. 0.26; W. 0.41-0.43

Demos (?) sits to the left; behind him stands Demokratia (?), in a near frontal pose, reaching her right hand out to crown him with a wreath.

337/6

From Athens, Agora, Section ΣΑ #1747 (found 1952)

SEG 55.18, 1997; 53.37, 87, 205, 2180; 52.1886; 45.65.

Osborne, 2010: 236, 267, 286; Herman, 2006: 236, fig. 7.6; Blanshard, 2004: 1-15; Lawton, 2003: 123-124, fig. 8; Rhodes & Osborne, 2003: no. 79; Messerschmidt, 2003: 6-7, 15, 16, 17, 167 cat. Dk 2, 169-170 cat. D 6; Richardson, 2003: 332-337; *Die griechische Klassik*, 2002: 197-198, cat. no. 94 (H.-J. Gehrke & U. Gotter); Knell, 2000: 60, fig. 34; Böhm, 1997: 133; Hintzen-Bohlen, 1997: 42 fig. 9; Boardman, 1995: fig. 150; Lawton, 1995a: 99-100 no. 38, pl. 20; Tracy, 1995: 8 n. 7.

DR 41 (v.): Athens, NM 2958. Fig. 9.6

Relief, probably from a catalogue of liturgists (IG II² 417)

P.H. 0.385; P.W. 0.355

An honorand stands in a frontal pose; Demos (?) stands to the left, raising his right arm to the left to crown (?) the honorand; next to a tripod on a column stands Eutaxia (ΕΥΤΑΞΙΑ), in a frontal pose, pointing her index finger to the left; in her left hand she holds another object, perhaps a list of winners (Palagia, 1975: 182).

Perhaps 333/2 or 332/1 (certainly before 317/6) Athens, Akropolis, West of the Parthenon (found 1839)

SEG 51.9, 80, 50.177, 48.106, 46.129.

Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 50-51, 172 cat. D 12, 181 cat. E 1, fig. 6; Lambert, 2000: 56-59 no. 4, pl. I; Wilson, 2000: 328 n. 184, 380 n. 18; Palagia, 1998: 41; Lawton, 1995a: 146 no. 150, pl. 79.

DR 42 (v.): Athens, EM 13461

Relief on a *deme* decree (*SEG* 28.102) honouring Hippokles from Eitea
H. 0.17; W. 0.268

An honorand (?) stands to the right, raising his right arm (in adoration?) to Boule or Basile (?), who stands to the left, extending a wreath in her right hand.

332/1

From Attika, Grammatikó (found 1961)
Lasagni, 2004: 121-123; Lawton, 1995a: 102-103 no. 43, pl. 22.

DR 43 (v.): Athens, EM 7155

Relief on a decree honouring the poet (?), Amphis (Anphis) of Andros (*IG* II² 347)
P.H. 0.17; P.W. 0.34

An honorand (Amphis?) stands to the right, facing Demos (?), who stands to the left, presenting a crown to the poet (?).

332/1

EM 7155: From Athens, Akropolis, South Slope, near the Asklepieion.
SEG 55.20, 168; 54.152; 52.94; 49.101; 45.74.
Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 170 cat. D 7; Lambert, 2002: 117-118; Whitehead, 1993: 69 n. 118; Lawton, 1995a: 103 no. 45, pl. 24.

DR 44 (v.): Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.13.1865

Relief from an Athenian decree
P.H. 0.195; W. 0.348

Athena (AΘHNA) stands to the right, facing two figures who raise their right arms to her: Demos (?) and a youthful (beardless) male figure, Prote-silaos ([ΠΠΟ]ΤΕ[Σ]ΙΑΑΟΣ), wearing a cuirass and

a *khlamys* draped over his left shoulder and bent left arm.

330-320

From Sigeion, Troas (found 1801)
Meyer, 1989: 288 A 81, pl. 26.1; Budde & Nicholls, 1964: 11-12 no. 27, pl. 5; *CIG* 3635.

DR 45 (n.v.): Athens, Private collection (Stelios Lydakis)

Relief from an honorary (*deme*?) decree

An honorand (?) stands to the right, raising his right hand (in adoration?) to Demos (of the *deme*?), who stands to the left, crowning the honorand with his upraised right hand.

330-320

Said to be from Attika, Menídhi
Lawton, 1995a: 145 no. 147, pl. 78; Meyer, 1989: 299 A 119, pl. 34.1.

DR 46 (v.): Athens, Agora I 4224C

Relief of an unknown document
P.H. (stele) 0.067; P.W. 0.255

Athena stands to the right, towards Demos (?); a third figure is missing.

324/3

From Athens, Agora, section KK #1182 b; grave 31 (found 1939)
Lawton, 1995a: 105 no. 48, pl. 25; Tracy, 1995: 124, 138.

DR 47 (v.): Athens, EM 2811

Relief on a decree honouring Asklepiodoros (*IG* II² 367)
H. 0.38; W. 0.475

Athena stands to the right, behind Boule (?) who, likewise standing to the right, reaches out her right hand to crown the honorand (?), himself in a frontal pose; Demos (?) stands to the left, extending his right arm towards the honorand.

323/2

From Athens, Akropolis, between the Parthenon and the Propylaia (found 1838)

SEG 55.191; 53.37.

Lawton, 2003: 125-126, fig. 11; Messerschmidt, 2003: 15, 16, 48, 171 cat. D 9, 181 cat. B 1, fig. 4; Lawton, 1995a: 105-106 no. 49, pl. 26.

DR 48 (v.): Athens, NM 1482

Relief on a decree (IG II² 448) originally honouring Euphron of Sikyon and his descendants

H. 0.405; W. 0.665

Athena stands to the right, behind Demos (?) who, likewise standing to the right, reaches his right hand to crown the honorand (?), who stands to the left, raising his right hand (in adoration?); a groom leans to the left, restraining a horse. An inscription on the moulding below (now indistinct) has been used to identify some characters: 'H βουλῇ, 'O δῆμος, 'H βουλή (Svoronos, 1903-1937: 608).

323/2-318/7

From Athens, Agora, near the Stoa of Attalos (found 1891)

SEG 55.23, 211; 54.175, 183; 53.37; 51.17; 44.43, 257.

Lawton, 2003: 125-126, fig. 12; Messerschmidt, 2003: 15-16, 171-172 cat. D 11, fig. 5; Kaltsas, 2002: 236 no. 495 (ill.); Lawton, 1995a: 107-108 no. 54, pl. 28.

DR 49 (v.): Athens, NM 1477

Relief on a private decree (IG II² 2496)

H. 0.125; W. 0.085

Misthosis or Tykhe (?) stands to right, preparing to pour the contents of an *oinokhoe*, in her right hand, into a *kantharos*, held in the right hand of a bearded hero (?), seated in a chair to the left, holding an unidentifiable object in his lap.

Last quarter of the fourth century

From Peiraieus, Mounikhia, near port of Zéa (found 1866)

SEG 51.17.

Kaltsas, 2002: 238 no. 500 (ill.); Lawton, 1995a: 149-150 no. 156, pl. 83.

Monumental paintings

MP 1 (n.v.):

Wall painting of the hero Marathon at the Battle of Marathon, by Mikon and Panainos (both of Athens)

470-460

Athens, Agora, Stoa Poikile

Pausanias 1.15.3, 5.11.6; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.57

Arapojanni, 1992: 357 s.v. Marathon no. 1; Pollitt, 1990: 144; Francis & Vickers, 1985; Hölscher, 1973: 50, 60, 63; Harrison, 1972: 366-367; Jeffery, 1965: 41-57; Thompson, 1960:12; Wycherley, 1957: 31-45.

MP 2 (n.v.):

Wall painting representing Demos of Athens, by Parrhasios of Ephesos (and later Athens)

Last quarter of the fifth century

Athens, perhaps Agora, Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios
Messerschmidt, 2003: 7, 11; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 279 no. 889B; Pollitt, 1990: 154; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 379 s.v. Demos no. 47; Palagia, 1980: 61 no. B1.

MP 3 (n.v.):

Pinakes with representations of Olympias and Pythias, by Aglaophon of Thasos

Late fifth century

Athens, Akropolis

Satyros 776 F 1 *FGrH* (= Athenaios 12.534d)

Shapiro, 2009: 238-244; Borg, 2004: 35; Kosmopoulou, 2002: 80, cat. 18; Simon, 1994a: 38 s.v. Olympias no. 1; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 11 no. 30; Pollitt, 1990: 147, n. 27; Neumann, 1986: 106 n. 21; Pemberton, 1981: 309-312.

MP 4 (n.v.):

Painting(s) of Nemea embracing Alkibiades and/or his horse victory at Nemea, by Aglaophon of Thasos and/or Aristophon

Late fifth century

Athens, Pinakothek (?)

Pausanias 1.22.7; Ploutarkhos, *Alkibiades* 16.7; Satyros 776 F 1 *FGrH* (= Athenaios 12.534d)

Shapiro, 2009: 238-244; *ThesCRA* 1 (2004) 295 no. 102; Fracchia, 1992: 732 s.v. Nemea no. 16; Shapiro, 1988c: 206. See also the bibliography for MP 3.

MP 5 (n.v.):

(Wall?) painting(s), with representations of Ara (Malediction), Blasphemia (Evil Speaking), Phthonos (Envy), Stasis (Faction), Neikos (Dissension)

Fourth century (?)

Pseudo-Demosthenes 25.52

Hibbs, 1962: 24.

MP 6 (n.v.):

Wall painting with representations of Demokratia and Demos with Theseus, by Euphranor of Isthmia

Mid-fourth century

Athens, Agora, Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios

Pausanias 1.3.3-4

Messerschmidt, 2003: 7, 16, 19, 208 cat. Dk-T 2, 210 cat. D-T 4; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 176 no. 545; Pollitt, 1990: 162; Moreno, 1987: 111; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986a: 373 s.v. Demokratia no. 6; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 379 s.v. Demos no. 48; Palagia, 1982: 111; Palagia, 1980: 57-60.

MP 7 (n.v.):

Pinax (?) with a representation of Nemea, by Nikias of Athens

Third quarter of the fourth century

Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.27-31, 35.131

Fracchia, 1992: 731 s.v. Nemea no. 1; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 263 no. 841; Pollitt, 1990: 170; Moreno, 1987: 117, 120.

MP 8 (n.v.):

Wall painting of Demos of Attika, by Aristolaos

Mid-late fourth century

Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 35.137

Glowacki, 2003: 451; Messerschmidt, 2003: 16, 20, 210 cat. D-T 3; Pollitt, 1990: 166; Palagia, 1980: 61 no. B2.

Miscellaneous reliefs**R 1 (n.v.): Rhamnous, Apotheke (formerly Athens, NM 203-214, and 4925-4986 and others). Fig. 4.1**

Relief decorated base, of the cult statue of Nemesis, showing Leda bringing Helene to Nemesis, in the company Oinoe and others, by Agorakritos of Paros (or perhaps Pheidias)

H. 0.50; W. 2.38

430-420

Rhamnous, Temple of Nemesis

Pausanias 1.33.7-8; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 36.17

Kosmopoulou, 2002: 130-135, cat. 62, figs. 101-104; Camp, 2001: 113-114, 301; Palagia, 2000: 62-68; Stafford, 2000: 86-87; Knittlmayer, 1999: 2-4, figs. 1-3; Petrakos, 1999: 1.251-270; Ehrhardt, 1997: 34-36 fig. 2; Karanastassi, 1997: 1203 s.v. Themis no. 23; Karanastassi, 1994; Shapiro, 1993: 176-177, 256 no. 115, fig. 133; Shapiro Lapatin, 1992: 107-119, pl. 27b-c.

R 2 (v.): Brauron Museum 1177. Fig. 7.1

Fragmentary round altar or statue base (*IG* I³ 1407bis)

Restored H. 0.955; max. diam. 0.815

Eirene fragment: H. 0.485; W. 0.37

Several figures advance to the right: Eirene (EIPHNH), holding a flower just below her chin; bearded Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), holding a *thyrsos* upright in his left hand; a satyr (?), wearing a *khlamys* over his left shoulder; two (?) missing figures; a female figure (Ariadne?) seated to the left, holds drapery above her right shoulder; a figure standing to the left, raises the seated fig-

ure; two more missing figures, of which one may be Opora (..)Ω[.]; Hermes (HP)MḤ[Σ] strides profile to the right; Eunomia or Theoria ([...] IA) stands to the right; two more missing figures, perhaps Eros and Kharis (EP[.], X[APIΣ]); one figure entirely missing.

Early fourth century

Brauron

Smith, 2009: 475 s.v. Theoria no. 1; Smith, 2005a: 220, fig. 15.10; Stafford, 2000: 188; Boardman, 1995: 16, fig. 2; Shapiro, 1993: 232 no. 10, fig. 10; Simon, 1988; Simon, 1986: 704, s.v. Eirene no. 10, pl. 542.

R 3 (v.): Athens, NM 1343. Fig. 10.4

Votive relief (IG II² 4644)

H. 0.395; W. 0.515

Tykhe ([ΑΓΑ]ΘΗ [ΤΥ]ΧΗ) stands to the left, holding a *keras*.

380-370

Athens, Akropolis, South Slope, Asklepieion

Villard, 1997: 118 s.v. Tyche no. 5; Bemmman, 1994: 215-116 B 14.

R 4 (v.): Athens, AM 4069. Fig. 11.1

Relief decorated statue base

H. 0.28; W. 0.545

Bearded Agathos Daimon stands to the right, raising his right hand slightly, palm facing out and holding a *keras* in his left arm; Agathe Tykhe stands slightly to the left, holding her veil in her right hand; Philia (?) stands in a near frontal pose.

A dedicatory inscription, best preserved at the left, is carved in two or three lines above the figures:

ΙΙ

ΑΝΕΘΗΚ[

ΑΓΑΘΟ[Σ] Δ[ΑΙΜΩ]Ν [ΑΓ]Α[ΘΗ] ΤΥΧΗ

360-350

Athens, Akropolis, East of Parthenon (1839)

Kosmopoulou, 2002: 71, cat. 26, fig. 45; Villard, 1997: 118 s.v. Tyche no. 2; Bemmman, 1994: 219 B 19; Dunand, 1981: 278 s.v. Agathodaimon no. 4.

R 5 (v.): Athens, NM 1459. Fig. 11.4

Votive relief, with probable representations of Philia and Tykhe

H. 0.49; W. 0.3

Zeus sits on a throne to the left, raising his right hand to hold a sceptre (?); Philia (?), stands in a near frontal pose, holding a *phiale* in her right hand and a sceptre (?) in her left hand; Tykhe (?) sits to the left, holding a *phiale* in her outstretched right hand, and a large object, perhaps a *keras*, in her left arm; in very low relief in the background are four figures—two pairs of male and female figures—standing to the left.

Mid-fourth century

Attika, Peiraieus

Patton, 2009: 352 no. 238; Güntner, 1994: 136 cat. B 48; Meyer, 1989: 206 n. 1435a.

R 6 (v.): Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.99.1937. Fig. 9.13

Relief from a statue base

H. 0.663; W. 0.371

Boule (?) stands in a frontal pose, holding in her right hand a large olive wreath.

Mid-fourth century

Kosmopoulou, 2002: 74, cat. 30, fig. 49; Smith, 1997a; Budde & Nicholls, 1967: 17-18 no. 37, pl. 9.

R 7 (v.): Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1558 (Cat. 234). Fig. 11.3

Votive relief (IG II² 4627)

H. 0.435; W. 0.58

Three worshippers (a bearded male figure between two female figures) stand to the right, raising their right hands (in adoration?). Beyond them is a volute krater on stand, the rim of which is held

by the right hand of a nude youth, standing in a nearly frontal pose, holding a *phiale*; Tykhe sits to the right on a couch, with her feet on a footstool; Zeus, reclines to the left, holding a *keras* in his left arm and a *phiale* in his right hand; in front of the couch is a table with cakes.

The architrave is inscribed as follows:

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΕΩΡΙΣ
ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ ΔΙΙ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΩΙ/ΦΙΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΤ ΤΗ
ΜΗΤΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ ΑΓΑΘΗ
ΤΟΥ/ΘΕΟΥ ΓΗΝΑΙΚΙ

Mid-fourth century

Attika, Peiraieus

Herman, 2006: 338; Parker, 2003: 175; Villard, 1997: 118 s.v. Tyche no. 3; Moltesen, 1995: 135 no. 70; Bemmman, 1994: 223-224 B 24; Dentzer, 1982: 594 no. R228, 503-505 fig. 483.

R 8 (n.v.): Peiraieus Museum 211.

Votive relief (IG II² 4589)

H. 0.50; W. 0.31

A votive foreleg in the upper left hand corner; a veiled female worshipper and a bearded male worshipper advance to the right; veiled Agathe Theos (Agathe Tykhe?) stands in a frontal pose, holding an empty (?) *keras* in her left arm and a *phiale* in her outstretched right hand. The top of the relief is inscribed as follows:

ΑΓΑΘΕΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΠΥΘΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Second half of the fourth century

Bemmman, 1994: 216-217, B 15 fig. 35; Petrocheilos, 1993: 35-36, n. 82, 51 fig. 4.

R 9 (v.): Athens, AM 1338. Fig. 9.4-5

Relief decorated statue base, 'The Atarbos Base' (IG II² 3025)

Left: H. 0.33; W. 0.935. Right: H. 0.33; W. 0.96

A single youth, dances profile to the right; two groups of three similar figures; two nearly identi-

cal female figures, Phylai (?), stand slightly to the right; eight youths—nude but armed—dance to the right, in two groups of four, each wearing a small (Attic) helmet and holding a round shield on his left arm; the shield of each youth except the first dancer in each group overlaps his predecessor by a different degree.

The inscribed top frame reads as follows:

ΝΙΚΗ[ΣΑΣ ΚΥΚΛΙΟΙ ΧΟ]ΡΩΙ [ΠΥΡΡΙΧ]ΙΣΤΑΙΣ
ΝΙΚΗΣΑΣ/ΑΤΑΡΒΟΣ ΛΥ[Σ...Κ]ΗΦΙΣΟ[Δ]ΩΡΟ[Σ
ΗΡΧΕ]

Probably 323/2

Athens, Akropolis, bastion near the Beulé Gate (found 1852)

SEG 46.252.

Csapo, 2010: 126 no. 8; Ceccarelli, 2004: fig. 1; Shear, 2003: 164-180; Kosmopoulou, 2002: 67-68, cat. 39, fig. 60; Wilson, 2000: 39-40, 305, 306, fig. 2; Kosmopoulou, 1998: 163-172; Boegehold, 1996: 95, fig. 61, 101-103; Boardman, 1995: fig. 153; Palagia, 1994: 115, fig. 6; *Mind and Body*, 1989: 208-210 no. 101 (ill.); Brouskari, 1974: 20, pl. 5.

R 10 (n.v.): Peiraieus Museum.

Votive relief

Pinax depicting rider on horse; three worshippers advance to the right towards Tykhe (?), seated to the right on a *kline*, holding a filled *keras* in her left arm. Beneath the *kline* coils a snake; bearded Agathos Daimon (?) reclines to the left, holding a drinking cup (?) in his upraised left hand.

Fourth century

Attika, Peiraieus, Sanctuary of Asklepios near Mounikhia

Bemmman, 1994: 217 B 16.

R 11 (v.): Athens, NM 2853. Fig. 11.2

Votive relief

H. 0.20; W. 0.20

A worshipper stands to the right, raising his right arm (in adoration?) to Tykhe (?), who sits to the

left, cradling a filled *keras* in her left arm and holding a *phiale* in her right hand.

Second half of the fourth century

Attika, Peiraieus

Bemmann, 1994: 217-218 B 17; Nester, 1975: 24

Statuary

In cases of multiple copies of the same original, I have assigned a letter to each copy, and listed them in alphabetical order, according to museum.

S 1 (n.v.): Lost

Statue of Salamis

480/79 or shortly thereafter

Herodotos 8.121

Shapiro, 1988c: 206.

S 2 (v.): BM 1820.5-13.2 (cat. 460)=head; Rhamnous, Apotheke (fragments of body). Fig. 4.1

Cult statue of Nemesis of Rhamnous, by Agorakritos of Paros (or Pheidias, according to Pausanias, Zenobios, and Pomponius Mela)

Nemesis stands in a frontal pose, with her bent left arm at her side. For the base of the original, see **R 1**.

430-420

Head (v.):

H. 0.41

Pausanias 1.33.3-6; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 46.17; Zenobios 5.83; Strabon 9.1.17

Camp, 2001: 113-114, 301, fig. 108; Stafford, 2000: 56 n. 68, 84-85, fig. 8; Knittlmayer, 1999: 1-3, 7-9, fig. 1; Petrakos, 1999: 1.247-250; Rolley, 1999: 135-137 figs. 120-121; Ehrhardt, 1997: 29-39, fig. 1; Shapiro, 1993: 174-177, 256 no. 114, fig. 133; Karanastassi, 1992: 738 s.v. Nemesis no. 1, pl. 831; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 12 no. 31; Pollitt, 1990: 67-68; Stewart, 1990: 165, 269-270, pls. 403-407; Despines, 1971.

(a) Athens, NM 3949 (v.)

Statue

H. 1.80 (without plinth)

Athens, Odhós Praxitélous 29 (found 1934)

Kaltsas, 2002: 120 no. 219 (ill.); Karanastassi, 1992: 738 s.v. Nemesis no. 2d; Stewart, 1990: 165, fig. 404; Despines, 1971: 28-29 no. 2, pls. 41-42.1-2.

(b) Berlin Museums 1891 (v.)

Statuette

H. 0.43

Rome

Despines, 1971: 32 no. 10, pl. 50.

(c) Butrinto, Albania (n.v.)

Statue

H. 2.4

Butrinto, Theatre

Despines, 1971: 29 no. 3, pl. 43.1-2.

(d) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2086

(Cat. 304A) (v.)

Statue

H. 1.93

Rome

A. Scholl in *Die griechische Klassik*, 2002: 191-192, cat. no. 88; J. Stubbe Ostergaard in *Guide to the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, 2000: 84-86 (ill.); Knittlmayer, 1999: figs. 1-3; Moltesen, 1974: 79-96; Despines, 1971: 28 no. 1, pls. 35-40.

(e) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 28T (v.)

Statue of a woman dressed as Nemesis (portrait head on a Nemesis type body)

H. 1.74 (without plinth)

Krete, Aptera

Despines, 1971: 30 no. 5, pls. 45-46.1-2.

(f) Madrid, Museo del Prado 986 (v.)

Statuette

H. 0.62

Despines, 1971: 31 no. 7, pl. 49.1; Blanco, 1957: 55 no. 67E, pl. 32E.

(g) Messene, Archaeological Museum (*n.v.*)

Statuette

H. 0.88

Messene, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, near Asklepieion

Kaltsas, 1989: 38 no. 14, pl. 23; Despines, 1971: 31 no. 8, pl. 49.2.

(h) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6269 (*v.*)

Statue

H. 1.84

Despines, 1971: 30 no. 4, pls. 44.1-2, 56, 57.1-2.

(i) Paris, Louvre MA 2219 (*n.v.*)

Statuette

H. 0.835

Baratte, 1981: 171-178; Despines, 1971: 31 no. 6, pls. 47.1-2, 48.1-2.

(j) Patras, Archaeological Museum 127 (*n.v.*)

Statuette

Patras

H. 0.85

Despines, 1971: 44, n. 120, pl. 52.1-2.

(k) Patras, Archaeological Museum (*v.*)

Statuette

H. 0.79

Akhaia, Velvítsi

Despines, 1971: 32 no. 11, pl. 51.1-4.

(l) Prague, National Gallery (Sternberg Palace) P 5520 (*v.*)

Statue

H. 1.01

Karanastassi, 1992: 755 *s.v.* Nemesis no. 219; *Národní Galerie v Praze*, 1979: 69 no. 261, pl. 38.

(m) Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme 2001749 (*n.v.*)

Statuette

H. 0.87

E. Fileri in Giuliano ed., 1985: 369-370 no. VIII.7; Despines, 1971: 32 no. 9, pl. 49.3.

S 3: Lost (*n.v.*)

Grave statue (?) of Oligarkhia setting fire to Demokratia, on the tomb of Kritias, Athens

After 403

Sch. Aiskhines 1.39 (= 88 A13 DK)

Messerschmidt, 2003: 5; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986a: 173 *s.v.* Demokratia no. 5.

S 4: Lost (*n.v.*)

Statue of Eirene and Ploutos, by Kephisodotos

Eirene stands in a nearly frontal pose, looking at the baby Ploutos, cradled in her left arm, along with the *keras*; Ploutos, seated to the left, reaches his right arm up to Eirene, and his left arm down at his side.

Athens, Agora, between the Tholos and the Temple of Ares

Pausanias 1.8.3; see also Pausanias 9.16.2

Borg, 2004: 35; Stafford, 2000: 175, 178-180; Rolley, 1999: 163, 212-214, figs. 202-203; Biers, 1996: 263, fig. 9.19; Boardman, 1995: 52-53, fig. 24; Shapiro, 1993: 45, 48; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 92 no. 269; Pollitt, 1990: 83; Stewart, 1990: 14, 173-174, pls. 485-487, 836; Simon, 1987: 166-167, pl. 25; Simon, 1986: 703 *s.v.* Eirene no. 8, pl. 541; Scheibler, 1984: 39-46, figs. 1, 12-13.

(a) Athens, NM 175 (*v.*)

Statue (only Ploutos)

H. 0.67

Attika, Peiraeus Harbour (found 1881)

Kaltsas, 2002: 241 no. 505 (ill.); Simon, 1986: 703 *s.v.* Eirene no. 8a; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 262 n. 4.10.

(b) Baiae, Excavation Storeroom 174.496 (n.v.)
Plaster cast (Ploutos)
H. 0.165

Baiae, Baths
Landwehr, 1985: 103-104 no. 63, pls. 60a, 101d.

(c) Berlin, Private Collection (?) (n.v.)
Statue

Grossman, 1959: 238 no. FS16, pl. 10.3.

(d) Cherchel, Musée (n.v.)
Statue

Cherchel
Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 262 n. 4.6.

(e) Dresden, Albertinum Hm 107 (v.)
Statue (only Ploutos)
H. 0.71

Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 262 n. 4.11.

(f) Kyrene, Archaeological Museum 14.635 (n.v.)
Statue (head of Eirene)
H. 0.39

Kyrene, Agora
Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 262 n. 4.9; Paribeni ed., 1959: 146 no. 422 pl. 183.

(g) Lost (once London, Robinson Coll.) (n.v.)
Carnelian gem
H. 0.0205

Simon, 1986: 702 s.v. Eirene no. 5, pl. 540;
Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 256 n. 9.

(h) Munich, Glyptothek 219 (v.). Fig. 2.1
Statue
H. 2.01

Rome, Appia Antica, Villa dei Quintili
Glyptothek München, 2005: 78-79 (ill.); Smith, 2005a: 222, fig. 15.12; P. Weitzmann in *Die griechische Klassik*, 2002: 83-84, cat. no. 7;

Stafford, 2000: 178-180, fig. 22; Simon, 1986: 703 s.v. Eirene no. 8, pl. 541; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 255-273.

(i) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3430
Statue
H. 1.4

Cumae, Cave of the Sibyl (found 1926)
Eschbach, 1986: pl. 19.2; de Franciscis, 1963: 65 fig. 29.

(j) New York, MMA 06.311 (v.)
Statue
H. 1.77 (without plinth)

Rome, Villa Patrizi
Eschbach, 1986: pl. 19.1; Richter, 1954: no. 98 pl. 80.

(k) Rome, Palazzo Margherita (US Embassy), Garden (v.)
Statue (with a head after caryatid C [3rd from left] of the Erekhtheion)
H. 2.08

B. Palma in Giuliano ed., 1986: 177-181 no. VII.27 (with ill.); Bruschini & Skipper, 1990: 13-14 no. 29.

(l) Rome, Museo Torlonia 240 (v.)
Statue (restored as Niobe)

Rome, Villa Torlonia, via Nomentana
Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1979: 262 n. 4.4.

(m) Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti 1381 (v.)
Statue (head of Eirene)
H. 0.336

Liverani, 1989: 34-35 XIV.4.

S 5: Lost (n.v.)
Statuary group with a representation of Megalopolis, by Kephisodotos and Xenophon (both of Athens)

First half of the fourth century
Megalopolis, Sanctuary of Zeus Soter
Pausanias 8.30.10
Villard, 1997: 118 s.v. Tyche no. 11; Pollitt, 1990: 83-84.

S 6: Lost (n.v.)

Akrolithic statue with representations of Tykhe and Ploutos, by Xenophon of Athens (head and arms) and Kallistonikos of Thebes

Mid-fourth century
Thebes, Sanctuary of Tykhe
Pausanias 9.16.2

Clinton, 1994b: 418 s.v. Ploutos no. 21; Vlassopoulou, 1994: 915 s.v. Thebe no. 15; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 92 no. 269; Pollitt, 1990: 83; Eschbach, 1986: 153, kat. 80 pl. 30.3.4 (Aphrodite with Eros).

S 7: Lost (n.v.)

Statue of Demos (of Athens), by Leokhares

Mid-fourth century
Attika, Peiraieus
Pausanias 1.1.3
Messerschmidt, 2003: 16, 20, 209 cat. D-T 2; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 221 no. 696; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 377 s.v. Demos no. 8; Palagia, 1980: 61 no. C1.

S 8: Lost (n.v.)

Statue of Tykhe, by Praxiteles

Mid-fourth century
Megara, Sanctuary of Tykhe, by the Aphrodite Temple
Pausanias 1.43.6
Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 344 no. 1006; Effenberger, 1971: 125-128; Hamdorf, 1964: 98 no. 288, 99 no. 316.

S 9: Lost (n.v.)

Colossal statues, with representations of Hellas and Arete, by Euphranor

340-330, probably 338-336

Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 34.19.78

Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 177 no. 545; Pollitt, 1990: 94; Stewart, 1990: 287; Palagia, 1988b: 626 s.v. Hellas no. 2; Balty, 1984: 581 s.v. Arete no. 19.

S 10: Agora S 2370 (v.)

Colossal statue

H. 1.54

A female figure, perhaps Demokratia, Themis, or Tykhe, stands in a frontal pose.

335-330

Athens, Agora, section BΓ #176, Area 1118-5/19 (1970)

Messerschmidt, 2003:19, 166-167 cat. Dk 1; Karanastassi, 1997: 1202 s.v. Themis no. 9 (ill.); Palagia, 1994: fig. 1; Camp, 1990: 210 fig. 133; Meyer, 1989: 140 n. 110; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986a: 373 s.v. Demokratia no. 8; Palagia, 1982: 99-113, pls. 29-30.

S 11: Lost (IG II² 1955) (n.v.)

Base of a statue of Salamis (?) dedicated by the Hippeis of the island, under the Hipparkhies of Eleusinian Theogenes

H. 0.58; W. 0.79

Second half of the fourth century

Ambélaki, harbour of Salamis (found 1881)

SEG 38.161.

Manakidou, 1994: 652 s.v. Salamis no. 3.

S 12: Athens, EM 3913 (v.)

Inscribed base for a statue of Demos (?) crowning Demokratia, IG II² 2791

H. 0.335; W. 0.2

333/2

Athens, Agora, Church of Áyios Nikólaos Vlastaróu, just North of the Royal Stoa

Messerschmidt, 2003: 166 cat. Dk 1.1; Palagia, 1994: 116-117; Tzachou-Alexandri, 1994: 55-56; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986a: 372-373 s.v. Demokratia no. 1; Palagia, 1982: 111 n. 76, pl. 36.

S 13: Lost (n.v.)

Colossal group, dedicated by the *poleis* of the Khersonnesos, with a representation of the Demoi of Athens, Byzantion, and Perinthos

Demosthenes 18.90

Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 378 s.v. Demos no. 36.; Palagia, 1980: 61 no. C2.

S 14: Lost (n.v.)

Statue of Eirene

Athens, Agora, Prytaneion

Pausanias 1.18.3

Shapiro, 1993: 45; Simon, 1986: 702, s.v. Eirene no. 3.

S 15: Lost (n.v.)

Statue with a representation of Demos (of Athens), by Lyson

Fourth century

Athens, Agora, Bouleuterion

Pausanias 1.3.4-5; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 34.91
Messerschmidt, 2003: 9, 16, 19-20, 209 cat. D-T 1; Aldrich *et al.* edd., 1991: 236 no. 740; Alexandri-Tzahou, 1986b: 377 s.v. Demos no. 9; Palagia, 1980: 61-62 no. C3.

S 16: Lost (n.v.)

Statue by Praxiteles, with a representation of Tykhe, near the Prytaneion (presumably in the Agora), Athens

Mid-fourth century

Ailianos, *Poikili historia* 9.39; Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 36.23

Pollitt, 1990: 85; Wycherley, 1957: 166 no. 542.

Vase paintings**VP 1 (v.): London, BM 1873.8-20.375 (cat. no. E 140). Fig. 3.8**

Skyphos attributed to Makron
H. 0.213

A: Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΡΕ) stands to the right, holding grain in her left hand and a torch in her right hand; Triptolemos (ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ) sits to the right in his winged, snaky chariot, holding grain in his outstretched left hand and a *phiale* in his right hand; Kore (ΦΕΡΟΦΑΤΤΑ) stands to the left, holding a torch in her left hand and offering a libation from an *oinokhoe* in her right hand; Eleusis (ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ) stands to the left, raising a branch in her right hand.

B: Eumolpos (ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΟΣ), swan, Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ), Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), Amphitrite (ΑΝΦΙΤΡΙΤΕ), Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ).

490-480

Campania, North of S. Maria di Capua (The Brygos Tomb)

ARV² 459.3, 481, 1654; BA 204683

Batino, 2003; Batino, 2002: 327, no. 67, 467, fig. 34; Smith, 1999: 132, pl. 9c; Miles, 1998: pls. 20-21; Tsiaphaki, 1998: 358, fig. 36B; Carpenter, 1997: pl. 43; Kunisch, 1997: 14, 32-33, 36, figs. 8, 17-19.319, pl. 107.319; Boss, 1997: 346, fig. 5; Méztger, 1996: 268, fig. 5; Sparkes, 1996: 136, fig. V.13.2.3; Tiverios, 1996: 158-159, figs. 135-136; Cerchiai, 1995: 190, pl. 34.1; Ghedini, 1995: 133, fig. 8; Matheson, 1994: 353; Clinton, 1992: 124, figs. 51-54; Hayashi, 1992: 4 cat. no. 45; Jost, 1992: 297, fig. 13; Williams, 1992: 625-626, 634, figs. 6-9; Carpenter, 1991: fig. 40; Cohen, 1991: 70, figs. 35-37; Rasmussen & Spivey, 1991: 107, fig. 42; Laurens & Lissarrague, 1990: 64-65, 73, fig. 19; *Add²* 243; CVA *British Museum* 4 (1929) III.I.c, pl. 28.2.

VP 2 (n.v.): Germany, private collection. Figs. 3.4-5

Pointed *amphora* attributed to Syriskos (= the Copenhagen Painter)

A-B (shoulder): *Kentauromakhia*.

A-B (body): A youth stands to the right, facing another youth, Amenanos (labelled AMANAOΣ),

who stands to the left, holding a staff in his right hand; a nymph stands to the right, holding branches in each hand; bearded Okeanos (OKEANOS), sits to the right on a square block, holding a staff upright with both hands; a snake (Ladon?) is wrapped around an apple tree; Strymon (labelled retrograde, NOM[Y]PTΣ), sits to the left, on a square block; bearded Adranos (labelled AΔPO[NOΣ]) stands to the right, holding a staff in his right hand and beseeching (?), with his outstretched left hand, a Hesperid (?), who stands to the left, holding branches in both hands; bearded Neilos (labelled NI[ΛOΣ]) stands to the right, holding a knotted staff with both hands; a Hesperid (?) stands to the left, holding branches in both hands; beyond another apple tree sits Herakles (H[P]AKΛEEN), slightly to the right, on a square block, raising his left hand to the top of his club; Athena (A[Θ]ENAIA), strides to the left; beyond another apple tree sits bearded Atlas (?) to the right, on a square block, holding a knotted staff in both hands; a Hesperid (?) stands to the left, holding branches in both hands.

480-470

BA 30676

Smith, 1999: 133, pls. 10a-b; G. Güntner in *Mythen und Menschen*, 1997: 104-107, 109, 111, no. 30C; Méztger, 1996: 279; Cahn, 1994: 32 Okeanos no. 4, pl. 22; Weiss, 1994b: 815 s.v. Strymon no. 1, pl. 577; Jentel, 1992: 725 s.v. Neilos no. 68; Tiverios, 1991: 129-136 pls. 22-25; Boardman *et al.*, 1990: 101 s.v. Herakles no. 2681; McPhee, 1990: 403 s.v. Hesperides no. 72a; Cahn, 1988: 107-116 figs. 1-7.

VP 3 (v.): Italy (ex Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.6 and 96.AE.335). Figs. 3.1-2

Calyx krater signed by Syriskos (signed in the field behind Dionysos' head: ΣΥΡΙΣΚΟΣ ΕΓΡΦΣΕΝ [= the Copenhagen Painter])

H. 0.43

A: Okeanos (OKEANOS) stands to the right, holding a sceptre in his left hand; Ge Panteleia

(ΓΕ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ) sits to the right on a decorated stool, with her feet on a footstool, holding a sceptre in her left hand and a *phiale* in her right hand; bearded Dionysos (labelled retrograde, ΣΟΣΥΝΟΙΑ) stands to the left, holding an ivy branch in his left hand and a flowering branch in his right hand; a small panther (leopard?) stands behind him, to the left.

B: Bearded King Balos (BAΛΟΣ) sits to the right on a stool, spreading his right hand (to receive the *phiale* from Themis?) and holding a sceptre in his left hand; Themis (ΘΕΜΙΣ) stands in a near frontal pose, holding a *phiale* to Balos, in her right hand, and an *oinokhoe* to Epaphos, in her left hand; bearded Epaphos (labelled retrograde, ΣΦΦΑΦΕ) stands to the left, holding a sceptre in his right hand.

470-460

BA 28083

Godart & De Caro, 2007: 116-117 no. 27 (ill.); Borg, 2002: 215; Gilman ed., 1997: 46; Karanastassi, 1997: 1202 s.v. Themis no. 12; Cahn, 1994: 32 s.v. Okeanos no. 6; Shapiro, 1993: 219-220, 263 no. 145, fig. 181.

VP 4 (v.): Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73. Fig. 3.9

Handleless *stamnos*, attributed to the Syleus Painter (by J.R. Guy)

H. 0.368

A-B: Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ) stands to the right, holding grains in both hands; Triptolemos (ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ) sits to the right in his winged chariot, holding grains in both hands; Persephone ([ΦΕ]P[E]ΦΑΤΑ or...]ΦΡΤΑΣ) stands to the left, holding an *oinokhoe* in her left hand and a *phiale* in her right hand; bearded Kalamites (K[A]ΛΑΜΙΤΕ[Σ]) stands to the left, holding a sceptre in his left hand; bearded Theos (ΘΕΟΣ) stands profile to the right, holding a sceptre in left hand, and a *phiale* in his right hand, into which a female figure (inscribed ΚΑΛΟΣ), who stands to the left, pours a libation from an *oinokhoe* held in her right hand; a

bearded male figure (also labelled ΚΑΛΟΨ) stands to the right, extending his right arm to Eleusis (ΕΛΕΥΣΙ[Σ]), who stands to the right, holding an *oinokhoe* in her right hand and a *phiale* in her left hand; bearded Hippothoon (ΗΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ) stands in a nearly frontal pose, but turns his head to the right, holding a sceptre in his right hand.

470-460

BA 43376

Smith, 1999: 132, pl. 9d; Gilman ed., 1997: cover, 47; Clinton, 1997: 663 s.v. Kalamites no. 1, pl. 413; Simon, 1997a: 98, n. 16; Simon, 1997b: 1206 s.v. Theos et Thea no. 1, pl. 829; Mézger, 1996: 269, fig. 6; Mattusch, 1994: 77-78 fig. 7; Clinton, 1994a: 166-168 figs. 7-9; Matheson, 1994: 355; Clinton, 1992: 106, figs. 43-46.

VP 5 (v.): Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II6 117. Fig. 2.6

Lekythos said to be in the style of the Providence Painter

H. 0.192

Winged Ananke (labelled ΑΝΑΝΑΗ) runs to the right, holding a torch in her right hand.

470-460

BA 41489

CVA Moscow 4 (2001) 33-34, pl. 30.1-3; Smith, 1999: 130, pl. 8c.

VP 6 (n.v.): Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum. Figs. 3.6-7

Skyphos near the Lewis Painter

H. 0.198

A: Salamis (ΣΑΛΑΜΙΣ), stands to the right, reaching both arms out to Kore (?), who stands in a frontal pose, holding towards Salamis a mirror, in her right hand, and a *kalathos* (basket), in her left hand.

B: Thebe (ΘΕΒΕ), runs to the left, holding an *oinokhoe* in her right hand and turning her left

palm up towards Demeter, who stands to the left, slightly obscuring a low chair, cradling a sceptre in her left arm, and reaching a *phiale*, in her right arm, towards Thebes.

450-440

Taylor-Guthartz ed., 2001: 59 no. 60; Smith, 1999: 134, pls. 10c-d; Mézger, 1996: 277-278; Manakidou, 1994: 652 s.v. Salamis no. 2, pl. 498; Vlassopoulou, 1994: 915 s.v. Thebe (c).

VP 7 (v.): Tübingen University S./10 1347 (F 2, ex Arndt Coll.). Fig. 4.3

Skyphos

H. 0.175

A: Themis (ΘΕΜΙΣ) stands to the right, holding in her right hand a torch and in her left arm a basket; a dog and Bendis (ΒΕΝΔΙΣ), holding two spears upright in her left hand, stand to the left.

B: Dog and Kephalos, shown as a hunter (ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ); Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) with basket.

440-430

Boiotia

ARV² 1023.147-148; BA 214330

Batino, 2002: 343, no. 317, 465, fig. 29.1; Borg, 2002: 216; Rückert, 1998: fig. 8; Tsiaphaki, 1998: 390, fig. 68; Karanastassi, 1997: 1202 s.v. Themis no. 13, pl. 829; Shapiro, 1993: 224-225, 264 no. 147, fig. 185; Kron, 1992: 57, pl. 16.1; Oakley, 1990: 35, pl. 124A; Veyne, 1990: 20-21, 29, fig. 1; *Add²* 316; CVA Tübingen 5 (1986) 49-52, pls. 21, 22.1-6, fig. 22.

VP 8 (v.): Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro romano (Museo Civico) 256535. Figs. 4.4 (tondo) and 9.7 (exterior, A)

Stemless cup attributed to the Phiale Painter

H. 0.045

A: Nude Theseus advances to the right, wielding an axe in his right hand and restraining the

Marathonian bull with his left arm; a nymph, Marathon (?), stands to the right, holding her left palm out and a *phiale* in her right hand, which is stretched towards Theseus.

B: Nude Theseus advances to the right, raising a rock in his left hand (behind his *khlamys*); the Krommyonian sow raises its forelegs to the left, behind an old woman, Phaia or Krommyo, who stands profile to the left, beseeching Theseus (?) with her left hand.

I: Themis (?) stands to the left, pouring a libation from an *oinokhoe* in her right hand over a peaked altar, and holding a basket in her left hand.

440-430

ARV² 1023.148, 1678; BA 214331
Karanastassi, 1997: 1202 s.v. Themis no. 14, pl. 82; Simantoni-Bournia, 1992b: 140 s.v. Krommyo no. 8, pl. 63; Oakley, 1990: 90 no. 148 pl. 123; Curti, 1989: 26-27; CVA Verona, Museo del Teatro Romano 1 (1961) III, 1 3-4, pl. 2.

VP 9 (v.): Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 1919 (cat. nos. 2412, J 386). Fig. 9.2

Stamnos showing a *dithyrambic* victory, attributed to the Hektor Painter
H. 0.445

A: A winged Nike stands to the right, pouring water from a *hydria* into a *loutrophoros*; a bull stands to the left in front of a large tripod, bending his head to drink; Phyle (?) advances to the left, holding a white fillet in both hands.

B: A bearded male figure stands between two female figures.

440-430

From Vulci (found 1829)

ARV² 1036.5, 1679; BA 213476
Kron, 1997: 996 s.v. Phyle no. 2; Matheson, 1995: 402 no. H 4, pl. 74; Van Straten, 1995: 45, 209 no.

V90, fig. 46; *Add²* 318; CVA München 5 (1961) 38, pls. 247.2, 249.3-4, 251.1-2, 255.4.

VP 10 (v.): Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1772. Fig. 11.5

Bell krater with lugs, attributed to the Eupolis Painter (name vase)
H. 0.378

A: Philia (ΦΙΛΙΑ) stands to the right, holding a *barbitos* in her left hand and a *thyrsos* in her lowered right hand; Satyra ([Σ]ΑΤΥΡΑ) stands slightly to the right, holding an *oinokhoe* in her right hand and a *kantharos* in her upraised left hand; Eupolis (ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ), a nude, balding, boy satyr, approaches a Doric column to the right, holding a torch with both hands.

B: A male figure stands between two female figures.

440-430

Orvieto (found 1886)

ARV² 1072.1; BA 214431
Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994e: 375 s.v. Philia no. 1; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994g: 702 s.v. Satyra 2 no. 1; *Add²* 325; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: 188-189; CVA Wien. Kunsthistorisches Museum 3 (1974) 16-17, pl. 113.5.

VP 11 (v.): Bologna, Museo Civico PU 273 (ex Palagi Coll. 1152). Fig. 3.10

Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter (name vase)
H. 0.127

A: Aigeus (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ), Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ), Medea (ΜΕΔΕΙΑ), Phorbas (ΦΟΡΒΑΣ), Aithra (ΑΙΘΡΑ).

B: A bearded male figure stands to the right, leaning on his staff, in his left hand; a warrior, Aias, stands to the left, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield on his left arm; Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ) runs to the left, holding a spear in her right hand and, with her left arm, beseeching

Menestheus (ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ), who advances to the left, holding two spears in his left hand; Melite (ΜΕΛΙΤΗ) stands to the left.

I: Ainetos (ΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ) and Kodros (ΚΟΔΡΟΣ).

440-430

Vulci (found 1846)

ARV² 1268.1; BA 217210

Hägg ed., 1999: 76, figs. 7-9; Spetsieri-Choremi, 1992: 447 s.v. Melite 2 no. 1, pl. 229; Berger-Doer, 1992: 305 s.v. Lykos 2 no. 2; *Add²* 356; CVA Museo Civico di Bologna (1929) 8, pls. 19-22.

VP 12 (v.): Berlin Museums F 2538. Fig. 4.5

Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter

H. 12.5

A: Kalydonian boar hunt.

B: Peleus hunting the stag.

I: Themis (ΘΕΜΙΣ) sits to the right on a tripod, holding a short (apple?) branch in her right hand and a *phiale* in her left hand; behind a Doric column (to suggest the temple at Delphoi) stands Aigeus (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ), to the left, consulting the Delphic oracle.

440-430

From Vulci, Cucumella

ARV² 1269.5, 1689; BA 217214

Borg, 2002: 216, fig. 80; Jacquemin ed., 2000: 59, fig. 3; Stafford, 2000: 54-55, fig. 3; Karanastassi, 1997: 1202 s.v. Themis no. 10; Settis ed., 1996: 1133, fig. 6; Shapiro, 1993: 221-222, 264 no. 146, fig. 182; *Add²* 356; CVA Berlin, Antiquarium 3 (1960) 14-15, pls. 114, 115.3-4, 121.1, 133.1, 3, 150.11-12.

VP 13 (v.): Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4616 (L 491). Fig. 5.17

Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter

H. 0.145

A: A satyr stands to the right; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) stands to the left, cradling a *thyrsos* in her left arm; a satyr runs to the left; a maenad (?) stands to the right; a satyr stands to the left.

B: A satyr advances to the right; a maenad, Paidia or Eudia ([...]ΔΙΑ), stands to the left, holding a *kantharos* in her right hand, and a *thyrsos* in her left arm; a satyr stands to the right, holding a stick in his left hand; a maenad stands to the right, holding a *thyrsos* in her left hand and reaching her right hand to a satyr who stands to the left.

I: Peitho (ΠΙΘΩΝ) stands to the right, holding her right hand up to speak (?) and resting her left hand on the shoulder of Pothos (ΠΩΘΩΣ), who stands to the right, resting his right arm on Peitho; Ariadne and Dionysos are entwined, while Dionysos holds a *thyrsos* in his left hand and a *kantharos* in his right hand, which he offers to a nude, young satyr, Komos, who stands to the left, holding a torch in his left arm and a handle of Dionysos' *kantharos* in his right hand.

440-430

From Spina

ARV² 1270.17; BA 217226

Borg, 2002: 216; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 142 s.v. Paidia no. 8, pl. 95; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 247 s.v. Peitho no. 51; Bazant, 1994: 503 s.v. Pothos no. 29; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994i: 774-775 s.v. Simis, Simon, Simos no. 9; Shapiro, 1993: 122, 181, 183, 201 n. 463, 203, 204, 257 no. 118, fig. 135-136, 166; Romeo, 1993: 43, fig. 17; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: 187; *Add²* 356; CVA Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 2 (1980) 13-16 figs. 4-5, pls. 5, 6.1-2.

VP 14 (v.): London, BM 1846.1-28.1 (cat. no. E 284).

Amphora showing a *dithyrambic* victory, by the Nausikaa Painter (= Polygnotos III)

H. 0.448

A: A bull stands to the right, before a tripod; Phyle (?) leans to the left, adorning him; another Phyle (?) stands to the right, adorning the horns of another bull, who stands to the left, in front of similar tripod.

B: Female figure, male figure with staff, female figure with trefoil *oinokhoe*, male figure with staff.

430-420

ARV² 1107.7; BA 214645

Kron, 1997: 996 s.v. Phyle no. 1, pl. 659; Van Straten, 1995: 45, 208-209 no. V87, fig. 45; Immerwahr, 1990: pl. 32.132; *Add²* 330; *Para* 452; CVA British Museum 3 (1927) III.I.c, pl. 17.3.

VP 15 (v.): Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University 70.12. Fig. 8.2

Volute krater in the manner of the Kleophon Painter, with a representation of Pompe, and perhaps Eleusis

H. 0.68 (including handles)

A-B: Bearded Pan runs to the left; Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ) sits on a rock to the right, holding two torches in her left hand and looking up to a Parthenos (ΠΑΡΘΟ...Σ), who stands in a near frontal pose, resting her left arm on a short torch; Triptolemos ([Τ]ΡΗΠΤΟΛΑΕΝΣ) sits to the right in his winged, snaky chariot, holding three grain stalks in his right hand and a *phiale* in his left hand; Kore (ΚΟΡΕ) stands to the left, pouring a libation from an *oinokhoe* in her right hand; Hekate ([...]Ε) stands to the left, holding a sceptre in her right hand; a satyr runs to the right, cradling a *thyrsos* in his bent right arm; Pompe (ΠΟΜΠ[Ε]) stands to the right, holding a missing object in her right hand and a *barbitos* in her left hand; balding Papposilenos stands in a frontal pose, resting his right arm on a crooked staff and holding a wine skin over his left shoulder; bearded Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝ[...]) stands to the right, holding a *thyrsos* in his left hand and a *kantharos* in his right hand; Eleusis (?) stands in a frontal

pose, holding an *oinokhoe* in her right hand and a short torch in her left arm.

430-420

BA 8110

Boardman, 1997: 936 s.v. Pan no. 243, pl. 631; Güntner, 1997: 964 s.v. Persephone no. 127, pl. 647; Matheson, 1995: 424, no. KLM 16; Matheson, 1994: 358-359; Clinton, 1992: 124, figs. 11-14; Hayashi, 1992: cat. no. 102; Raubitschek & Raubitschek, 1982: pls. 15-16.

VP 16 (v.): Berlin Museums 30036. Fig. 4.2

Pointed *amphoriskos* attributed to the Heimarmene Painter (name vase)

H. 0.175

Shoulder: Two Erotes between lotus blooms.

Body: Nemesis [ΝΕ]ΜΕΣΙΣ) leans to the right, pointing the index finger of her right hand to the right and wrapping her left arm around the shoulder of a Eukleia ([Ε]ΥΚΛ[ΑΕΙΑ]), who stands slightly to the right and rests her right hand on the shoulder of Nemesis; Peitho (ΠΕΙΘ[Ε]) stands to the right, holding a box in her right hand and looking towards veiled Helene, seated to the right on the knee of Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔ[ΙΤΗ]), who sits to the left, wrapping her right arm around the shoulder of Helene; winged nude Himeros (ΙΜΕ[ΡΟΣ]) stands to the right, beseeching Paris, on whose right arm he leans; Paris stands slightly to the left, cradling his spear and *khlamys* in his left arm; Heimarmene (ΕΙΜΑΡΜ[ΕΝΕ]) stands to the right, pointing down with the finger of her left hand; Themis (?) stands to the left, raising her right hand, on which a bird is perched.

430-420

Greece

ARV² 1173.1; BA 215552

Dipla, 2006: 23, fig. 5; Shapiro, 2005: 50-52, figs. 5.7-11; Smith, 2005b: 14, 16, fig. 12; Rosenzweig, 2004: 20-21, fig. 7; Borg, 2002: 217, fig. 77; Böhr, 2000: 112-113, figs. 4-5; Stafford, 2000: 90-91,

134, fig. 9; Knittlmayer, 1999: 10-11, n. 48; Wünsche, 1998: 109, fig. 165; Sutton, 1998: 39, fig. 19; Karanastassi, 1997: 1203 s.v. Themis no. 19; Villard, 1997: 118 s.v. Tyche no. 1; Scheibler, 1994: 116, fig. 50; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 243 s.v. Peitho no. 4; Shapiro, 1993: 112, 174, 192-195, 228, 260 no. 129, figs. 151-154, 186; Karanastassi, 1992: 754 s.v. Nemesis no. 211; Hermary, 1990: 425 s.v. Himeros no. 2; *Add²* 339; *Para* 459.

VP 17 (n.v.): Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum 31.80. Fig. 5.8 and 5.18

White-ground squat *lekythos* attributed to the Eretria Painter
H. 0.21

Shoulder: Aphrodite and Eros.

Body: Antheia (ΑΝΘΕΙΑ) stands to the left; Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) stands to the right, holding a small stick in her left hand and reaching her right hand to an unidentifiable object (game?); Eukleia (?) sits to the right on a rock, holding a small bird in her right hand; Kephimos (ΚΕΦΗΜΟΣ) runs to the left, reaching both arms to the bird; next to a laurel tree stands Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) to the left, reaching her right hand to the tree and holding a plate of fruit in her left hand; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) stands to the left, holding an unidentifiable object in her left hand and dangling a beaded necklace from her right hand.

420-410

Said to be from Macerata, Apiro

ARV² 1248.8; BA 216944

Cohen, 2006: 130-132 no. 33 (ill.); Borg, 2005: 203 no. 2; Smith, 2005b: 23, fig. 23; Borg, 2002: 188, 200; Stafford, 2000: 129, n. 86; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 1a, pl. 94; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 246 s.v. Peitho no. 28; Shapiro, 1993: 80-82, 181, 203, 237 no. 30, figs. 33-34, 139, 164; Simantoni-Bournia, 1992a: 4-5

s.v. Kephalos no. 30, pl. 7; Machaira, 1990: 507 s.v. Horai no. 38; *Add²* 353.

VP 18 (v.): New York, MMA 31.11.13

Bilingual *lekythos* attributed to the Eretria Painter

Restored H. (0.475); pres. H. 0.305

Top (red figure): Rape (of Persephone?).

Middle (white ground): Beyond a column nude Akhilleus (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ), sits to the right in a *klismos*, his head bowed in front of a *kline* on which lies Patroklos (ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΣ) to the left; beyond another column Klymene (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ) sits to the left, on a dolphin, holding a sheathed sword in her upraised right hand and beseeching (?) Psamathe (ΨΑΜΑΘΗ), who sits to the left, on a dolphin, holding a helmet in her right hand and her left hand in a speaking gesture; Thetis ([Θ]ΕΤΙΣ) sits to the left on a dolphin, holding a spear and a shield on her left arm; another Nereid sits to the left on a dolphin, holding a cuirass (?) and reins with both hands; a Nereid sits to the left on a dolphin, holding a greave in her right hand; Galene (ΓΑΛ[H]N[H]) sits to the left on a dolphin, holding a brown necklace in her upraised right hand; Eunomia (ΕΥΝ[...]) sits to the left on a dolphin, holding reins in her right hand and a shield in her left hand; Kymodoke (Κ[.....]Η) sits to the left on a dolphin, touching an unidentifiable curving object; a rocky cliff is behind her.

Bottom (red figure): *Amazonomakhia* (including an Amazon named Arete)

430-420

Said to have been found in Athens

ARV² 1248.9, 1688; BA 216945

Cohen, 2006: 111-112, fig. 5; Barringer, 1995: 30, 33-34, 47, 177 no. 26, pls. 22-24; Lezzi-Hafter, 1992: 228-231, pl. 49; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 232-233, figs. 239-240; *Add²* 353; *Para* 469.

VP 19 (v.): Athens, NM 1629 (CC 1588). Fig. 5.6 (A)

Epinetron depicting the wedding of Harmonia (A) and the Abduction of Thetis by Peleus (B), by the Eretria Painter (name vase)

L. 0.287

A: Below a wreath sits Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ), on a stool to the right, with her feet on low footstool, holding a necklace in both hands; Eros (ΕΡΟΣ) stands to the left, holding a jewelry box in his left hand, the lid in his right hand; Peitho ([ΠΙ]ΕΙΘΟ), stands to the right, holding a mirror in her left hand; Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) sits on stool to the left, with her feet on a footstool; Kore (ΚΟΡΕ) stands to the left, reaching her right arm around Harmonia's shoulders and holding Harmonia's left wrist in her left hand; Hebe (ΗΒΕ) stands to the right, binding her hair; nude Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ), sits to the right on a *himation* draped over his chair, with his feet on a footstool, holding a pointed *amphoriskos* in his right hand up to Hebe.

B: A Nereid (ΝΑΪΪΣ) runs to the right, reaching to Melite (ΜΕΛΙΤΕ), who also runs, but in a frontal pose, holding cloth in her left hand, and her own *khiton* in her right hand; Eulimene (ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΕ) runs to the left; nude Peleus (ΠΕΛΕΥΣ) lunges towards Thetis and is attacked on his right side by a hippocamp; Thetis (ΘΕΤΙΣ), dressed as Melite, stands in a frontal pose, but is pulled back by Peleus; Nereus (ΝΕΡΕΥΣ) stands to the left, holding a sceptre in his left hand and beseeching (?) Aure (ΑΥΡΗ), who runs to the left, reaching both arms to another Nereid (ΝΑΩ), who runs to the right.

C: *Epaulia* of Alkestis

430-420

Eretria

ARV² 1250.34, 1688; BA 216971

Cohen, 2006: 158, fig. 8; Bundrick, 2005: 193, fig. 110; Smith, 2005b: 8, 15, 16, 19, fig. 10; Kousser, 2004: 110-112 figs. 8.1-8.5; Rosenzweig, 2004: 22-23, fig. 11; Borg, 2002: 76-79, 83, 88, 223,

fig. 6; Boardman, 2001a: 267, fig. 298; Stafford, 2000: 137-138, fig. 16; Cavalier ed., 1997: 231, figs. 94-94bis; Oenbrink, 1996: 89, 97, fig. 6; Sparkes, 1996: 71, fig. 3.4; Tiverios, 1996: 184-185, figs. 167-168; Barringer, 1995: 34, 88, 93 n. 100, 199 no. 163; Fantham *et al.*, 1994: 101, fig. 3.15; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 244 s.v. Peitho no. 6, pl. 178; Oakley & Sinos, 1993: 127-129, figs. 128-130; Shapiro, 1993: 105-106, 117-118, 206, 241 no. 47, fig. 58; Romeo, 1993: 42, fig. 16; Lezzi-Hafter, 1992: 228-231, pl. 48; Immerwahr, 1990: 115 no. 798; Hermay, 1990: 426 s.v. Himeros no. 13; Kaufmann-Samaras, 1990: 191, 194, pl. 2.6; *Add²* 354; *Para* 469.

VP 20 (v.): Warsaw National Museum 142458. Figs. 3.11-12

Cup attributed to the Eretria Painter

H. 0.096

A: A nude bearded satyr, Aietos (ΑΙΕΥΟΣ) stands to the right, holding a *kantharos* in both hands; Euboia (ΕΥΒΟΙΑ) dances to the right, holding in her left hand a *thyrsos*; a nude, bearded satyr, Kissos (ΚΙΣΣΟΣ) dances in a near frontal pose; a maenad, Kinyra (ΚΙΝΥΡΑ) dances to the left, holding a *thyrsos*.

B: A nude bearded satyr, Lemnos (ΛΗΜΝΟΣ) advances to the right, holding a wine skin in both hands and facing a maenad, Delos (ΔΕΛΟΣ), who dances to the left, plucking at a lyre in her left hand; a nude bearded satyr dances in a near frontal pose, raising his left arm towards a maenad, Tethys (ΤΗΘΥΣ), who dances to the right, spreading her arms.

I: A nude bearded satyr, Demon (ΔΗΜΩΝ), dances profile to the right, holding a *kantharos* in his right hand; a maenad, Khoro (ΧΟΡΩ), moves to the left, holding a lyre in her left hand.

430-420

ARV² 1253.58; BA 216996

Smith, 2005a: 216-218, fig. 15.5; Santi ed., 1999: fig. 4; Mézger, 1996: 267, 279; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992a: 47 s.v. Kinyra no. 1; Kossatz-Deissmann,

1992e: 250 s.v. Lemnos 2 no. 1, pl. 126; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: 160; Immerwahr, 1990: 115 no. 799; *Add²* 354; CVA Goluchów, Musée Czartorvski (1931) 26, pl. 38.

VP 21 (v.): Ruvo, Museo Jatta 36818. Fig. 5.10
Volute krater attributed to the Kadmos Painter
H. (incl. volutes) 0.59

A (neck): A sacrifice.

A (body, upper level): Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝ[ΙΑ]) stands to the right, holding a branch (?) in her upraised right arm; above, a bearded satyr emerges to the right, from behind a hill; a bearded satyr, Simos (ΣΙΜΟΣ), sits to the right, pouring wine from an *amphora* in his left hand into a *kantharos* in his right hand; nude, winged Eros (ΕΡΟΣ) hovers to the right, curving his right arm in a speaking gesture; Eudia (ΕΥΔΙΑ) stands to the left, holding a *thyrsos* in her left hand; Opora (ΟΠΩΠΑ) emerges from behind the hill, slightly to the left, holding an *oinokhoe* in her right hand and a plate of fruit in her left arm; a nude, winged Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ), stands to the right at the feet of Dionysos and reclines to the left on an ornate couch, holding a *thyrsos* in his right hand; next to a vine sits Thyone (ΘΥΩΝ[Η]) to the right, cradling a *thyrsos* in her right arm; a nude, winged Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) stands to the left, holding in his right hand a grape bunch; below him is a *kantharos*, next to Oreias (labelled ΟΡΗΔΗ), who stands to the left, holding a *thyrsos* in her left hand; next to a tripod on Doric column is a bearded satyr, Oinopion (ΟΙΝΟΠΙΩΝ), who sits to the right on a rock, resting his right hand on the rock.

A (body, lower level): A deer stands to the right; Hebe (ΗΒΗ) stands in a near frontal pose, reaching her right hand to the deer and holding a plate of food on her left arm; in front of a palm tree is a nude satyr, who reclines to the left on an *amphora*, resting his left hand on the ground; next to a tripod on a Doric column is a young satyr, Sikinnos (ΣΙΚΙΝΝΟΣ), who stands to the right, stretching both arms to the head of an ass,

which stands to the left; a *lekanis* fills the field between them; above, a nude, bearded satyr, Silenos (ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ), sits to the left, leaning back on a wine skin, playing a double *aulos*; next to a tripod on Doric column sits a female figure to the left.

B (neck and body): Apollon and Marsyas.

420-410

Ruvo

ARV² 1184.1; BA 215689

Borg, 2002: 220, fig. 48; Cohen ed., 2000: 58, fig. 2.4; Moraw, 1998: 299 no. 447, pl. 22; Andreassi, 1996: 84-86; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994b: 63 s.v. Oreias no. 1, pl. 49; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994h: 761 s.v. Sikinnis, Sikinnos no. 4; Bazant, 1994: 503 s.v. Pothos no. 28; Weiss, 1994a: 56 s.v. Opora no. 3, pl. 44; Shapiro, 1993: 68, 119, 122, 235 no. 22, figs. 22, 71; Sarti, 1992: pl. 20.1; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: *passim*; Hermay, 1990: 426 s.v. Himeros no. 17; *Add²* 340; *Para* 460; *CIG* 8380.

VP 22 (v.): Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1024. Fig. 7.2

Calyx krater attributed to the Dinos Painter
H. 0.39

A: Next to an olive tree Hedyoinos (ΗΔΥΟΙΝ[Ο]) leans to the right, holding a *kantharos* in his right hand; a maenad, Eirene (ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) sits to the left, cradling a double-torch in her left arm and holding a rhyton in her left hand; below, a nude bearded satyr, probably Dithyrambos or Gelos, sits to the right on a panther skin, plucking a lyre in his left hand; Dione ([ΔΙΩΝΗ]) stands to the right, holding a plate of fruit; Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ) sits to the left on the *omphalos*, holding a brown *kantharos* in his right hand and a *thyrsos* in his left hand; below, a panther stands to the left; above, a nude, white Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ) stands to the left, offering a wreath or necklace to Dionysos; a maenad, Opora (ΟΠΩΠΑ), stands to the left, holding a plate of fruit; a nude, bearded satyr, Komos (ΚΩΜΩΣ), stands in a near frontal pose, cradling a *thyrsos* in his lowered left arm and holding his beard in his right

hand; above, a maenad, Oinante (OINANΘH), reclines on a rock to the right; a bearded, nude satyr stands to the left, extending both arms to Oinante.

B: Maenad, satyr, maenad.

420-410

ARV² 1152.8; BA 215261

Smith, 2005a: 219, fig. 15.8; Stafford, 2000: 188-189, fig. 25; Moraw, 1998: 298 no. 443, pl. 21; Carpenter, 1997: pl. 36B; Miller, 1997: pl. 98; Matheson, 1995: 214, 382 no. D9; Weiss, 1994a: 56 s.v. Opora no. 1, pl. 44; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994a: 18 s.v. Oinante no. 1; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992d: 94 s.v. Komos no. 20; Shapiro, 1993: 45-46, 232 no. 9, figs. 7-8, 72; *Add²* 336; CVA Wien. Kunsthistorisches Museum 3 (1974) 11-12, pl. 105; *CIG* 8381.

VP 23 (n.v.): Paris, Louvre MNB 2109 (L 58). Fig. 5.13

Squat *lekythos* attributed to Aison

H. 0.264

Eudaimonia (?) sits to the right, holding a string of beads between her hands; Paidia ([Π]ΑΙΔΙΑ) stands in a near frontal pose, holding a short string of beads between her hands; Aphrodite ([ΑΦ]ΡΟ[Δ]ΙΤΗ) stands to the right, holding a sceptre in her right hand and an unidentifiable object over her left shoulder; Adonis (ΑΔΟΝ[ΙΣ]) sits to the right, cradling a lyre in his left arm; a nude, winged Eros stands to the left, holding a plate of fruit in both hands.

420-410

Said to have been found in Athens

ARV² 1175.7; BA 215563

Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 1, pl. 94; Shapiro, 1993: 181, 257 no. 119, figs. 137-138; *Add²* 339.

VP 24 (v.): Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81948. Figs. 5.1 (Paidia and Hygieia), 5.11 (Eutykhia and Eudaimonia), and 8.3 (Pannykhis)

Hydria attributed to the Meidias Painter

H. 0.47

Khrysothemis, sits to the right, speaking to a nude Eros, who stands to the left; below him, Eutykhia stands to the right, holding a mirror in her right hand to Eudaimonia, seated to the right; above her, Eurynoe sits to the right, looking down at a bird that she supports on her left hand and touches with her right hand; nude Himeros hovers to the right, turning a *iunx* in both hands, in front of Adonis, who sits to the left, leaning in the arms of Aphrodite, who sits to the left; beneath them, another nude Himeros runs to the right, chasing a hare; Hygieia sits to the right, but looks to the left; in her lap sits Paidia, to the left; Pannykhis ([ΠΑΝ]ΝΥΞΙ[Σ]), stands to the right, holding a tympanon in both hands, towards Eros; above sits Pandaisia to the right.

Other inscriptions once visible: ΧΡΥΣΟΘΕΜΙΣ, ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, ΕΥΡΥΝΟΗ, ΙΜΕΡΟΣ, ΑΔΩΝΙΟΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΗΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΠΑΝΔΑΙΑ[ΙΣΙΑ].

420-410

Populonia

ARV² 1312.1; BA 220493

Shapiro, 2009: 239-241, figs. 67-68; Smith, 2005b: 16-18, 21, fig. 18; Leventi, 2003: 156 cat. V 3; Borg, 2002: 172-178, 182-185, 187-188, 222, figs. 49-54; Krumeich, 1997: fig. 70; Böhr, 1997: 118, fig. 15; Vollkommer-Glökler, 1997: 550 s.v. Chrysothemis 3 no. 1, pl. 354; Esposito & Tommaso edd., 1993: 79, fig. 132; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 2, pl. 94; Saladino, 1994: 159 s.v. Pandaisia no. 1; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994d: 171 s.v. Pannychia, Pannychis no. 2, pl. 104; Shapiro, 1993: 63, 67-68, 86, 117, 129, 183, 205, 233 no. 16, figs. 16, 39, 70, 81; Immerwahr, 1990: 116 no. 803; Hermay, 1990: 425 s.v. Himeros no. 5, pl. 300; Croissant, 1990: 556 s.v. Hygieia

no. 2, pl. 381; *Add²* 361; *Para* 477; CVA Regionale Museo Archeologico di Firenze 2 (1957) 54-56, pls. 60, 61.1, 62.1-3, 63.1-3.

VP 25 (v.): Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81947. Fig. 5.2

Hydria attributed to the Meidias Painter
H. 0.475

Upper level: Erosora stands to the right, holding a chain in her both hands; Pannykhis sits to the left, holding a wreath in her lowered left hand; Aphrodite crouches to the right in her chariot, holding the reins in both hands; the chariot is drawn by nude Pothos, advancing to the right, holding a *phiale* in his left hand and a laurel wreath in his right hand; Himeros stands to the right, holding a *thymiaterion* in his left hand; Hygieia sits to the left, holding a beaded necklace between both upraised hands; Eudaimonia ([EYΔAIM]ON[IA]) sits to the right, leaning her right shoulder against Hygieia.

Lower level: Khrysogeneia stands to the right, leaning her left hand on the lap of Leura, who sits to the left, holding a beaded necklace between both hands; nude Eros flies to the right; Phaon sits to the left, playing a lyre, but looking at Demonassa, who sits to the left, holding a necklace in both hands; Leto stands to the right, cradling a sceptre in her left arm; Apollon sits to the left, holding an olive branch in his right hand.

Other inscriptions once visible: ΗΡΟΣΟΡΑ, ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΑ (or ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ), Αφροδίτη, ΠΟΘΟΣ, ΙΜΕΡΟΣ, ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΧΡΥΣΟΓ[...], ΔΕΥΡΑ, ΦΑΩΝ, ΔΗΜΩΝΑΣ[ΣΑ]

420-410
Populonia

ARV² 1312.2; BA 220494

Shapiro, 2009: 239-243, fig. 69; Tugusheva, 2009: 292-293, fig. 5; Borg, 2005: 195, fig. 14.3; Smith, 2005b: 16-18, 20-21, fig. 19; Leventi, 2003: 156 cat. V 2; Borg, 2002: 172, 176-178, 185-188, 196, figs. 55-59; Stewart, 1997: 150, fig. 90; A.J. Paul, 1997:

16, fig. 6; Biers, 1996: 241, col. pl. 15; Geyer *et al.*, 1996: 52, fig. 44; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994d: 171 s.v. Pannychia no. 1, pl. 104; Berger-Doer, 1994: 365 s.v. Phaon no. 2, pl. 318, 501; Bazant, 1994: s.v. Pothos no. 4; Esposito & Tommaso edd., 1993: 80, fig. 133; Fedeli *et al.*, 1993: 119, figs. 103-104; Shapiro, 1993: 234 no. 17, *passim*, figs. 21, 69, 80; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 240 fig. 244; Immerwahr, 1990: 116 no. 804; Hermay, 1990: 425 s.v. Himeros no. 4; Croissant, 1990: 556 s.v. Hygieia no. 3; *Add²* 361; *Para* 477; CVA Regionale Museo Archeologico di Firenze 2 (1957) 57-58, pls. 57, 61.2, 64-65.

VP 26 (v.): London, BM 1772.3-20.30* (cat. no. E 224). Figs. 1.1-3 & cover

Hydria by the Meidias Painter (name vase)
H. 0.518

Upper frieze, upper zone: Helera (ΕΛΕΡΑ) rides a *quadriga* to the left, with Polydeuktes (ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΤΗΣ), who also sits to the left, holding the reins in both hands and a wreath in his left hand; a frontal cult statue (ΧΡΥΣΕΙ) holds a *phiale* in her outstretched right hand and raises her left hand, palm facing out; Khrysis (ΧΡΥΣΙΣΙΠΠΟΣ) stands in a *quadriga* to the right, holding the reins in both hands and a whip in his right hand.

Upper frieze, lower zone: Beyond a tree, bearded Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ) sits to the right, cradling a sceptre in his right arm; Agave (ΑΓΑΥΕ) runs to the left; Khryseis (ΧΡΥΣΕΙΣ) kneels to the right, reaching her right hand to the tree behind Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ), who sits to the left, holding her left hand in front of a low altar in front of which grows a small tree; Kastor (ΚΑΣΣΤΩΡ) stands to the right, wrapping both arms around Eriphyle (ΕΡΙΦΥΛΗ), whom he lifts off the ground, while she faces right; Peitho (ΠΙΘΩ) runs to the right, looking back at the others.

Lower frieze: Klytios ([ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ]) stands to the right, cradling two spears and a *khlamys* in his left arm and pointing his right arm at Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΑ), who sits on a rock to the left,

cradling a sceptre in her right arm; Asterope (ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΗ) stands to the right, embracing Khrysothemis (ΧΡΥΣΟΘΗΜΙΣ), who stands to the right, reaching her right hand to an apple tree, around which a snake is wrapped; Lipara (ΛΙΠΑΡΑ) stands to the left, holding an apple in her left hand; beyond a slimmer tree sits nude, youthful Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) to the left, on his lion skin on a rock; Iolaos (ΙΟΛΕΩΣ) stands in a near frontal pose, holding two spears in his right hand; Arniopie (ΑΡΝΙΟΠΗ) stands to the right; Medea (ΜΗΔΕΑ) stands to the right, holding a box in her left hand; Helera (ΕΛΕΡΑ) stands to the right; Philoktetes (ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ) stands slightly to the right, holding two spears with his right hand; bearded Akamas (label not visible to me) sits to the left, cradling a sceptre in his right arm; Hippothoon (ΗΠΠΟΘΩΝ) stands to the right, holding two spears upright with his left hand; Antiokhos (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ) sits to the left; Klymenos (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ) stands in a near frontal pose, holding two spears with his right hand; Oineus (ΟΙΝ[Ε]ΥΣ) stands to the right, holding two spears with his left hand and pointing his right hand to Demophon (ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ), who stands slightly to the right, holding two spears with his left hand and turning his right hand towards Oineus; Khrysis ([ΧΡΥΣ]ΙΣ) sits to the left on a rock, raising her right hand in a speaking gesture, before an olive tree.

420-410

ARV² 1313.5, 1690; BA 220497

Palagia, 2009: 38-41, figs. 12-13; Patton, 2009: 348 no. 211; Tugusheva, 2009: 292-295, fig. 4; Shapiro, 2005: 57; Smith, 2005b: 15-17, 24, fig. 14; Leventi, 2003: 156 cat. V 1; Ferrari, 2002: 176, fig. 138; Borg, 2002: 217, fig. 78; Boardman, 2001a: 99, fig. 134; Stafford, 2000: 130-131, 160, figs. 13, 17; de Cesare, 1997: 128, fig. 67; Stewart, 1997: 175, fig. 112; Biers, 1996: 240-141, fig. 8.61; Jenkins & Sloan, 1996: 181, no. 55; Kampen ed., 1996: 124, fig. 50; Sparkes, 1996: 52, fig. 2.13; Tivierios, 1996: 192-193, figs. 175-176; Reeder, 1995: 79, figs. 5-6; von Eickstedt, 1994: 106-107, figs. 2-3; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 244 s.v. Peitho no. 7,

pl. 178; Berti & Guzzo edd., 1993: 56, fig. 46; Pedley, 1993: 270, fig. 8.48; Shapiro, 1993: 127, 205-206, 245 no. 63, figs. 79, 168; Richlin ed., 1992: 31, fig. 1.12; Carpenter, 1991: fig. 213; Arafat, 1990: 151, fig. 8; Immerwahr, 1990: 116 no. 605; Boardman *et al.*, 1990: 104 s.v. Herakles no. 2717, pl. 105; Croissant, 1990: 556 s.v. Hygieia no. 1, pl. 380; Pipili, 1990: 691 s.v. Iolaos no. 38; *Add²* 361; *Para* 477; CVA British Museum 6 (1931) III.I.c, pls. pl. 91-99.

VP 27 (v.): New York, MMA 37.11.23. Fig. 5.8
Pelike attributed to the Meidias Painter
H. 0.48

A (upper level): Erato ([Ε]ΠΑΤΩ) stands to the left, playing a tympanon with her left hand; Mousaios (ΜΩΣ[ΑΙ]ΩΣ) sits slightly to the right, playing a *kithara* with both hands; above him a nude, winged Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) leans to the right on the shoulder of Kalliope (ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ), who sits to the right; Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) emerges from behind a hill.

A (lower level): Melpomene (ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ) sits to the right, playing a harp with both hands; Deiope (ΔΗΪΟΠΗ) sits to the right, holding a small bird on her right hand and looking down to the nude baby, Eumolpos (ΕΥΜΟΛΠΟΣ), who kneels to the left; next to a short tree is a nude, winged Eros, who stands to the right, behind the right shoulder of Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙ[.]Η), who sits to the left; Terpsikhora (ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΑ) stands to the left, playing a lyre in her left hand; Peitho (ΠΕΙΘ[Ο]Ω) sits to the left, looking up at Terpsikhora.

B: Seated Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) and standing Deianeira (ΔΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ).

420-410

From Sicily

ARV² 1313.7; BA 220499

Bundrick, 2005: 54-56, 194, fig. 32; Borg, 2002: 74-76, 83, 94, 217, figs. 7-8; Stafford, 2000: 130, n. 88; Tsiaphaki, 1998: 353, fig. 31; Icard-Gianolio,

1994: 246 s.v. Peitho no. 30, pl. 180; Bazant, 1994: 501 s.v. Pothos 1 no. 3, pl. 394; Bonamici, 1993: 17, fig. 32; Shapiro, 1993: 62, 109, 203, 241 no. 48, figs. 59, 165; Queyrel, 1992: 668 s.v. Mousa/Mousai no. 93; Kauffmann-Samaras, 1992: 687 s.v. Mousaios no. 13; *Add²* 362; *Para* 477.

VP 28 (v.): Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Didactisch Museum Archeologie (KUL-A)-1000. Fig. 5.14-15

Plate attributed to the Meidias Painter (D. Cramers)

H. 0.022

Eukleia or Eutykhia (EY[...]) leans to the right, resting her right elbow on the shoulder of Epidauros ([EIII]ΔAYΠOΣ), who stands in a near frontal pose, holding a nude baby, Asklepios (AΣΣ[KAHIIIIOΣ]), who sits in her arms; a tripod on an Ionic column with a two-stepped base is slightly hidden by Eudaimonia (EYΔAIMONIA), who sits to the left, holding a garland between her hands.

420-410

BA 4615

Borg, 2002: 217 n. 721; Verbanck-Pierard, ed., 1998: 239-242, no. 7; de Cesare, 1997: 191, fig. 126; Méztger, 1996: 278; Shapiro, 1993: 65, 234 no. 20, fig. 18; Cramers & Simon, 1978.

VP 29 (n.v.): Cleveland Museum of Art 82.142. Fig. 8.1

Squat *lekkythos* depicting the birth of Erichthonios, attributed to the Meidias Painter

H. 0.303

A female figure stands to the right, holding a beaded necklace between her two hands; above, a female figure sits to the right, on a *himation*, holding a garland between her two hands; below sits a female figure to the left; a female figure stands to the right, holding a garland between her hands; a female figure sits to the left, dangling

a beaded chain from her right hand; above, the upper bodies of three women (the daughters of Erekhtheus or Kekrops?) emerge from behind a ground line, to the right; below, Attika or Ge sits to the right, holding Erichthonios, a nude male infant, to the right; he reaches his left hand up to Athena, who lunges to the left, reaching for him; above, a female figure sits to the right, raising her drapery above her shoulder with her left hand; below, a female figure sits to the left, pointing her right hand towards the baby and turning to a female figure who stands to the left, wrapping a *himation* around herself; a female figure sits to the left.

420-410

BA 10161

Rosenzweig, 2004: 51-52, fig. 37a-c; Shapiro, 1998: 144-145, figs. 16-17; CVA Cleveland 2, 35-37, fig. 5, pls. 72.1-4, 73.1-2, 74.1-2.

VP 30 (v.): Basel, H.A. Cahn Collection HC 541 B Skyphos "in the manner of the Meidias Painter"
Pres. H. 0.15

Oinante (?) stands to the right, holding a flower (?) in her right hand; a male figure (?) stands to the right, holding two spears in his left hand; bearded Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ) sits to the left in a chair, holding a *thyrsos* in his right hand; Opora (ΟΠΟΡΑ) stands 3/4-view to the left, raising a *phiale* (?) in her right hand.

420-410

From Sicily

BA 5448

Smith, 2005a: 221, fig. 15.11; Borg, 2002: 151-153, 217, fig. 41; Weiss, 1994a: 56 s.v. Opora no. 2, pl. 44; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994a: 18 s.v. Oinante no. 2; Shapiro, 1994: 88 fig. 60; Shapiro, 1993: 166-167, 255 no. 110, fig. 129; Slaheferova, 1991: no. 19; Siebert, 1990: 347 s.v. Hermes no. 733; Lochin, 1990: 858 s.v. Ixion no. 2.

VP 31 (n.v.): Athens, Fethiye Djami A 8922Lidded *pyxis*, near the Meidias PainterLid (unpublished): Birth of Erikhthonios, attended by Soteria. See, for comparison, **VP 29**.

Body: The three daughters of Kekrops run to the left, away from the snake, which rears up from an opened chest; Athena runs to the left, holding an olive branch in her right hand, and a spear in her bent left arm; Basileia runs to the right, reaching forward but looking back; Pylios stands to the left, wearing a *khlamys* over his left shoulder and holding two spears diagonally, in his left hand; Khryseis runs to the left, holding an object in her upraised right hand but looking and reaching back; Eunoe stands to the left, raising both arms to the sides; Philonoe (?) sits to the left.

Inscriptions (presumably in white dipinti), said to be on the lid: ΚΕΚΡΟΨ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, ΑΘΗΝΑ, ΕΡΥΧΘ[ΟΝΙΟΣ]; on the body: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, ΧΡΥΣΙΣ, ΕΥΝΟΗ, ΦΥΛΟΝΟΗ.

420-410

From Athens (the pyre of a grave near the Akharnian Gate)

M. Zafeiropoulou in Kaltsas & Shapiro, 2008: 180-181 no. 76 (ill.); Balty, 1994: 800 s.v. Soteria add. no. 2; Kahil, 1994: 409 s.v. Phylonoe 4 no. 1; Zaphiropoulou-Mitropoulou, 1994: 604 s.v. Pylios 1 no. 1, pl. 488; Shapiro, 1993: 37-38, 231 no. 4, fig. 4; Shapiro, 1998: 144; Kron, 1988: 930 s.v. Erechtheus no. 9a, 933 no. 30a; Zaphiropoulou-Mitropoulou, 1988: 62 s.v. Eunoe no. 1; Burn, 1987: 21-22; Parker, 1987: 196 n. 40; Shapiro, 1986b: 134-135; Alexandri, 1976: B' 1, 30, pl. 35a.

VP 32 (v.): Reading, Ure Museum 52.3.2. Fig. 5.16Squat *lekythos* attributed to the Makaria Painter H. 0.143

Eutykhia (EYTYXIA) stands to the right, in front of a couch, holding a beaded necklace in her right hand and a footed box in her left arm; a winged,

nude Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ) stands to the right, holding a beaded necklace in his right hand, and extending an olive (?) wreath, with his left hand, to Aphrodite, who sits to the left; Eros (?) stands to the right, holding olive branches; Makaria ([ΜΑΚ]ΑΡΙΑ), stands to the left, holding a long necklace (?) in both hands.

420-410

ARV² 1330.7; BA 220682

Borg, 2005: 204 no. 11; Smith, 2005b: 22, fig. 22; Borg, 2002: 189; Shapiro, 1993: 171-172, 238 no. 33, figs. 42, 68, 132; Hermay, 1990: 425-426 s.v. Himeros no. 9; Shapiro, 1988b: 126 s.v. Eutykhia no. 3, pl. 67; Delivorrias, 1984b: 122 s.v. Aphrodite no. 1269, pl. 127; *Para* 479; Ure, 1962-1963: 61 no. 19, fig. 16; Beazley, 1957: 8.

VP 33 (v.): Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.205Squat *lekythos* attributed to the Makaria Painter H. 0.204

Eutykhia (EYTYXIA) stands to the right, holding a white necklace in her right hand and a footed box in her left hand; Eunomia (EYNOMIA) stands to the right, holding a white beaded necklace in both hands; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) stands to the left, holding a footed box, in front of a cushioned stool.

420-410

ARV² 1330.8; BA 220683

Borg, 2005: 203 no. 1; Borg, 2002: 188, 201, fig. 66; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 3; Shapiro, 1993: 83, 183, 238 no. 32, figs. 36, 41; CVA. The Walters Art Gallery 1 (1992) 35-36, pl. 38.1-3, fig. 11.2.

VP 34 (n.v.): Athens, Agora P 10542

Stamnos that recalls the Dinos Painter Pres. H. 0.175

A youth advances to the right, in front of a rearing bull, which he grasps by the horn with his

left hand; the bull charges to the right at Phyle (?), who advances to the right, towards an altar, on two steps; two more youths stand to the left, each holding a torch in his left hand; beyond an ithyphallic herm, decorated with a *kerykeion* and a tree, are three or four more youths, who run to the right.

420-410

Athens, Agora, in a well (B 15:1)

ARV² 1190.32, 1686; BA 217086

Moore, 1997: 151 no. 118, pls. 20-21; Kron, 1997: Suppl. 997 s.v. Phylai no. 6; Van Straten, 1995: 204, cat. V 60; Philippaki, 1987: pl. 61.4; Corbett, 1949: 348.

VP 35 (n.v.): Once Paris, Raoul-Rochette Collection. Fig. 7.3 (B, lower level)

Pelike attributed to the Group of Naples 3235

A: Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥ), the Minotaur, and Ariadne (ΑΡΙΗΔΑ).

B (upper level): Three figures are visible from behind a hill: nude, winged Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) leans to the right, beating on a tambourine with both hands; Pannychis (ΠΑΝΥΧΙΣ) sits to the left, holding a *thyrsos* in her right hand and looking towards a nude, bearded satyr, Eudygion (ΕΥΔΥΓΙΩΝ), who leans to the left, towards her.

B (lower level): A nude, bearded satyr, Atyllos (ΑΤΥΛΛΟΣ), dances to the right, lowering a tambourine behind his body; a maenad, Polyerate (ΠΟΛΥΗΡΑΤΗ), dances to the left, holding a *thyrsos* in her right hand and turning towards Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), who sits to the right, embracing Eirene (ΕΙΡΗΝΗ), who stands to the left; a maenad, Erato (ΕΡΑΤΩ), dances to the right, holding, in her left hand, a swan to the right; a nude satyr, Sybas (ΣΥΒΑΣ), stands to the right, holding a torch in his left hand.

410-400

Ruvo

ARV² 1316.3; BA 220521

Smith, 2005a: 219, fig. 15.9; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994d: 171-172 s.v. Pannychia, Pannychis no. 4 (ill.); Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994f: 429 s.v. Polyerate no. 1; Bazant, 1994: 503 s.v. Pothos no. 30; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994j: 825 s.v. Sybas no. 1; Shapiro, 1993: 46-47, 122, 232 no. 8, fig. 9; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: 188.

VP 36 (v.): Berlin Museums F 2705. Fig. 6.3

Squat *lekythos* (tallboy) attributed to the Painter of the Frankfurt Acorn

H. 0.219

Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) stands to the right, holding a tray of fruit in her left hand; Adonis ([Α]ΔΩΝΙΣ) sits to the left on a *klismos*, with his feet on a footstool, extending his right hand to that of nude Eros, whom he kisses; Eros stands to the left, reaching both arms around Adonis; Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΑ[Ε]ΙΑ) stands in a near frontal pose, holding a lyre in her left hand and a small bird on her right hand.

410-400

Athens

ARV² 1317.2; BA 220523

Borg, 2002: 184-185, 207 fig. 62; Campenon, 1994: 90, pl. 17.1; Shapiro, 1993: 76-77, 236 no. 25, figs. 28-29; CVA Berlin Antikenmuseum 8 (1991) 66-67, pls. 46, 48.4, ill. 22.3.

VP 37 (v.): London, BM 1846.9-25.12 (cat. no. E 698). Fig. 5.12

Squat *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.248

Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ) stands to the right, hiding her lowered head with a veil; Pandaisia (ΠΑΝΔΑΪΣΙΑ) stands to the right, holding an olive branch in her left hand and a platter of fruit in her right hand; a nude Eros flies to the right, reaching his arms forward to Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ), who sits to the left on a rock, holding a beaded necklace

between her hands and looking across a short olive tree, below an olive wreath, towards Polykles (ΠΟΛΥΚΛ[...]), who stands in a nearly frontal pose, holding two spears in his right hand; Kale (ΚΑΛΗ) stands to the left, holding a white thread with a white pendant.

410-400

From Ruvo

ARV² 1316.a (iii); BA 220518

Borg, 2005: 203 no. 5; Smith, 2005b: 21, fig. 20; Leventi, 2003: 156 cat. V 4; Borg, 2002: 189, 205, 206, fig. 65; Stafford, 2000: 161, fig. 18; Saladino, 1994: 159 s.v. Pandaisia no. 2, pl. 99; Bonamici, 1993: 16, fig. 31; Shapiro, 1993: 63, 234 no. 18, figs. 17, 84; *Add²* 362.

VP 38 (v.): Athens, NM, Vlasto Collection no. 47. Fig. 8.4

Khous, with trefoil lip, in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.112

A male figure stands to the right, holding an inverted *phiale* in his right hand; Pompe (Π[ΟΜΠΗ]) stands to the right, while a nude Eros (Ε[ΡΟΣ]) crouched profile to the left, ties her left sandal; a large, winged, nude male stands to the right, holding sheaves of grain in both hands; a *kanoun* (basket) sits on a low brazier; Hygieia (Ἰγί[Ε]Α) stands to the left; a youth advances to the right, holding a *phiale* in his left hand.

410-400

From Greece

ARV² 1323.36; BA 16140

Shapiro, 1993: 129 n. 275; Karouzou, 1952; van Hoorn, 1951: no. 274, fig. 243.

VP 39 (v.): Budapest, Szepmuveszeti T 754. Fig. 6.2

Oinokhoe in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.23

Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) stands to the right, holding a string of beads in her lowered left hand; nude Apollon (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) sits to the right on drapery on a rock (?), with a long olive branch resting on his left shoulder; Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ) stands to the left, holding in her right hand a white garland towards Apollon.

410-400

ARV² 1324.41bis; BA 220595

Bundrick, 2005: 195-196; Borg, 2002: 205, fig. 71; Knittlmayer, 1999: 13; Shapiro, 1996: 112, fig. 9; Shapiro, 1993: 74-75, 235 no. 23, figs. 26-27; Szilágyi, 1991: 72, fig. 37.2.2; *Add²* 364.

VP 40 (v.): London, BM 1856.5-12.15 (cat. no. E 697)

Squat *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.195

Kleopatra (ΚΛΕΠΙΤΡΑ), stands to the right, raising a string of beads in her right hand and a plate of fruit in her left hand; Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) stands to the right, leaning her left arm on the shoulder of Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ), who stands to the right, holding a string of beads in both hands; beyond a small tree sits Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ), on sloping terrain, to the left, turning towards Eros on her left shoulder; Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) stands to the left, leaning over a *kanoun*; Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) stands to the left, plucking fruit from a tree and holding a plate of fruit in her left hand.

410-400

From Athens, Mouseion Hill

ARV² 1324.45; BA 220599

Borg, 2005: 196-197, 203 no. 4, fig. 14.5; Smith, 2005b: 16, 21, fig. 15; Rosenzweig, 2004: 33, fig. 19; Borg, 2002: 189, 196, 198, 200, figs. 63-64; Stafford, 2000: 119; Cavalier, 1997: 228-229, fig. 93; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no.

5, pl. 95; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 254 s.v. Peitho no. 31, pl. 180; Shapiro, 1993: 66-67, 83, 183, 203, 235 no. 21, figs. 20, 35, 142, 163; Page-Gasser, 1992: 68 s.v. Kleopatra 6 no. 1, pl. 34; *Add²* 364; *Para* 478; *CIG* 8361.

VP 41 (v.): New York, MMA 11.213.2. Fig. 8.5

Squat *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.203

Peitho (?) stands to the right, arranging vegetation with her right hand, on a flat basket or plate in her left hand; Aphrodite ([A]ΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sits to the left, veiling herself with her right hand; beneath her, a footed box with shoes atop; a nude winged Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ), points his right hand to Aphrodite and looks up to a youth, Khrysippos (ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ), who sits to the left, on his *khlamys* (?); beyond a faded *kanoun* sits Pompe (ΠΟΜΠΗ) to the right, looking at the *kanoun*.

410-400

ARV² 1324.47; UKV 147; BA 220601

Smith, 2005b: 16, fig. 16; Rosenzweig, 2004: 21, fig. 8a-c; Simon, 1994b: 435 s.v. Pompe no. 1, pl. 348; Shapiro, 1993: 64 n. 115; *Add²* 364; Richter & Hall, 1936: 201-202 no. 160, pls. 159, 176.

VP 42 (n.v.): Ex Embirikos Coll., London. Fig. 5.4

Squat *lekythos* (tallboy), in the manner of the Meidias Painter

Eunomia (or Peitho?) sits on a rock to the left, raising drapery above her right shoulder; Eukleia sits to the right, raising a wreath in both hands; a nude, white Eros stands to the right, leaning to pour water out of a *hydria* on the head of a nude Helene, who crouches to the left, combing her hair with her right hand; a nude, white Pothos, stands in a near frontal pose, holding a mirror in his right hand and a cloth in his left hand; Aphrodite stands in a near frontal pose, holding a sceptre in her left hand.

According to Robert Guy the labels on the body are: EYKAEIA, ΠΟΘΟΣ, HEAENE, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΕΡΟΣ

410-400

H. 0.206; max. diam. (body) 0.076

ARV² 1326.66ter, 1690, 1705; BA 275533

Dipla, 2006: 22, fig. 1; Shapiro, 2005: 55-56, figs. 5.16-18; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 245 s.v. Peitho no. 22; Bazant, 1994: 501 s.v. Pothos 1 no. 5; Christie's 28.4.93, lot 30; Shapiro, 1993: 77-78, 237 no. 29, figs. 30-31, 78; *Add²* 364.

VP 43 (n.v.): Once Paris, Bauville Collection

Squat *lekythos* (tallboy), in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.20

Thaleia ([Θ]ΑΛΕΙΑ) walks to the right, holding a box on her head with her upraised left hand; beyond a small olive tree, Eunomia (EYNOMIA) stands to the right, holding a branch (?) in her upraised right hand; beyond a wreath, above a low altar, is a white pillar supporting a statue of a goddess; Aphrodite (?) sits on a stool to the left, holding a sceptre in her right hand.¹

410-400

From Attika

ARV² 1326.67; BA 220622

Borg, 2005: 204 no. 15; Borg, 2002: 190, 207 fig. 74; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994k: 899 s.v. Thaleia 5 no. 1; Shapiro, 1993: 84-85, 237 no. 31, fig. 38; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988d: 64 s.v. Eunomia no. 6, pl. 28; Burn, 1987: 114 MM 107; Delivorias, 1984b: 14, 122 s.v. Aphrodite nos. 43, 1270; Hampe, 1955: 119f, 121; Méztger, 1951: 18 n. 3.

¹ Brueckner (1907: 115) suggested that the seated goddess might be Aphrodite Pandemos, and that this image was a reflection of the procession of newly married women making dedications in her sanctuary. Despite Beazley's hesitation that the goddess might be Hera, Aphrodite is the most likely identification, given her popularity on Meidian vases.

VP 44 (v.): Paris, Louvre MNB 1320

Acorn *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter (with modern labels²)
H. 0.173

Hygieia (?) stands to the right, holding a box in her left hand; Peitho stands to the right, holding a sprig of vegetation in her left hand and pointing her right hand to Tykhe (?); a winged Eros crouches to the right, on the right hand of a female figure whom he crowns, probably Aphrodite, who sits to the left; Harmonia (?) stands to the left, raising her right hand in front of her face.

N.B. This acorn *lekythos* perfectly fits the description of a pair of *lekythoi* found together in Attika, once known in a private collection in Athens, seen by Körte (1879) in the winter of 1877-1878. It is unclear from Körte's description whether the two were exact duplicates, whether they were both labelled, and which one eventually came into the collection at the Louvre. Although they have become conflated in bibliographies, here I list separately the bibliography for the "once Athens" citations that either pre-date the Louvre acquisition or ignore it.

410-400

From Attika

ARV² 1326.69; BA 220625

Campanon, 1994: 90-91, pl. 17.2; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 248 s.v. Peitho no. 54; *Add*² 364.

² According to Beazley, the labels identifying these characters are modern. I have investigated the vase and am in agreement with him, as they are incised into the surface, employing a technique not otherwise known from this period. The modern labels would then predate the modern break (repairs are visible across both pairs of labels). As all figures, with the possible exception of Tyche, are paralleled in contemporary vase paintings, the labels are believable, although on the basis of iconographic parallels it is more likely that the seated female figure is Aphrodite, and that the female figure behind her (to the right) is Harmonia.

Bibliography for "Once Athens, private collection":

Borg, 2005: 204 no. 13; Borg, 2002: 190 n. 605.14; Shapiro, 1993: 228, 242 no. 51; Hamdorf, 1964: 100 no. 325c; *RE* (1939) 213 s.v. Peitho (M. Voigt); Hoppin, 1919: 2.197; Nicole, 1908: 86 no. 16; Roscher 3.2 (1897-1909) 1804 s.v. Peitho (P. Weizsacker); Körte, 1879; *CIG* 8362.

VP 45 (v.): Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale SA 316.

Lekanis lid in the manner of the Meidias Painter
Lid: H. 0.073; max. diam. (rim) 0.276

Harmonia (APMONIA) sits to the right on a *klismos*, holding in her right hand a box with two white balls atop and a fringed sash; beyond a *kalathos* stands Eukleia (EYKΛEIA) to the left, holding white fronds in both hands; Eunomia (EYNOMIA) stands to the right, holding in her right hand an inverted *keras* (?) with white strings and in her left hand an alabastron; beyond a *kalathos* stands Pannykhis (ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ) to the right, partially hiding a cushioned stool and holding white fronds in both hands; beyond a swan (?) sits Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) to the right, on a *klismos*, holding on her left hand a small, nude, Eros, crouching to the left, holding a white necklace in both hands; beyond a *kalathos* stands Klymene (ΚΑΥΜΕΝΗ) to the left, holding in her left hand an inverted *keras* (?) with white strings and in her left hand a footed *plemmokhoe* and a fringed sash.

410-400

From Gnathia

ARV² 1327.85; BA 220641

Borg, 2005: 195, 203 no. 9; Bundrick, 2005: 195; Borg, 2002: 189, 194, 205, 206, fig. 70; Ferrari, 2002: 46; Barringer, 1995: 133-135, 209 no. 208, pl. 132; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994d: 171 s.v. Pannykhia, Pannykhis no. 3; Shapiro, 1993: 73, 236 no. 26, figs. 23, 61; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992b: 71 s.v. Klymene 7, no. 2; *Add*² 364; *CIG* 8362b.

VP 46 (v.): Mainz University 118 (ex Prussian Royal Collection). Fig. 6.1

Lekanis lid, in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.071

Eukleia (E[Y]KAEIA) bends to the right, holding a large box in both hands; beyond a low table and a sprig of vegetation sits Eunomia (E[Y]NOMIA) to the left on a rock, holding a nightingale on her right hand; beyond another sprig and a goose stands another female figure, to the left, holding a *plemmokhoe* and a fringed sash in her left hand; beyond a *kalathos* stands Pa(i)dia (ΠΑΔΙΑ) to the right, holding a beaded necklace (?) in her lowered left hand and a large box and a *himation* in her right hand; another female figure sits on the rocks to the left, raising an *alabastron* in her right hand; beyond a large box and a hanging sash (?) stands another female figure to the left, holding drapery or a fan (?) in her right hand and a *plemmokhoe* and *himation* in her left hand.

410-400

ARV² 1327.87; BA 220643

Borg, 2005: 195, 203 no. 7, fig 14.2; Borg, 2002: 189, 191, 200-201, figs. 68-69; Ferrari, 2002: 18, 28, 46, figs. 40-41; C. Christmann in Junker ed., 1999: 87-90 no. 15, figs. 59-60; CVA Mainz University 2 (1993) 45-47 pl. 27.

VP 47 (v.): Ullastret (Gerona) Museum 1486. Fig. 9.15

Lekanis lid in the manner of the Meidias Painter Pres. H. 0.143; max. diam. (est.) 0.28

A goose or swan stands to the right; Khryse (ΧΡΥΣΕΙ) stands in a near frontal pose, looking down at the bird; Eunomia (ΟΝΥΜΙΑ) stands to the left, holding a flower (?) in her left hand and a beaded necklace in her right hand; Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ) stands profile to the right, holding a necklace between her two hands, above a small deer (?), which moves to the right, while Niko-

polis (ΝΙΚΩ) sits to the right, above a laurel (?) branch, and looks back.

410-400

From Ullastret, Camp alt V. Sugrera, Carrer 1 Sitja, 13/7 (found 1956)

BA 9558

Borg, 2005: 195, 203 no. 12, fig. 14.1; Borg, 2002: 189, 191, 201, fig. 67; Shapiro, 1993: 73-74, 237 no. 28, fig. 25; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988c: 50 s.v. Eukleia no. 7, pl. 23; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988d: 64 s.v. Eunomia no. 9; Burn, 1987, pl. 19b; Sanmartí & Barbera, 1987: 115, fig. 148; Shapiro, 1986c: 389 s.v. Dike no. 4; Froning, 1986: 281 s.v. Chryse 2 no. 2; CVA, Musée Monographique d'Ullastret 1 (1984) 36-37, pl. 34.1.

VP 48 (v.): London, BM 1893.11-3.2 (cat. no. E 775)

Lidded *pyxis* in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. (lid and body) 0.079

Lid: Dionysos, seated maenad, five dancing maenads practicing *sparagmos*, standing maenad attending Dionysos

Pyxis: Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) stands to the right, holding a sceptre in her right hand and the white reins of her chariot with both hands; Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) and Hedylogos (ΗΔΥΛΟΓΟΣ), both nude, white, and winged, pull her chariot; beyond a small tree stands Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ), slightly to the right; Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) sits on a chair to the right, holding a beaded necklace with both hands; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) stands to the left, holding a box in her left hand and a beaded necklace in her right hand; Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) stands to the right, tying a sandal on her left foot with both hands; a nude, winged Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ) stands to the left, holding a beaded necklace in his right hand and an apple (?) in his left hand; Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) sits to the left, holding branches in each hand; Kale (ΚΑΛΗ) stands to the right, with her head in

profile to the left, raising a beaded necklace between both hands.

410-400

From Eretria (found 1893)

ARV² 1328.92; BA 220648

Cohen, 2006: 135-137 no. 35 (ill.); Borg, 2005: 195, 203 no. 6, fig. 14.4; Bundrick, 2005: 195; Smith, 2005b: 20-21, fig. 21; Borg, 2004: 35-36, fig. 5; Leventi, 2003: 156-157 cat. V 5; Borg, 2002: 189, 196, 201, 203, 206, figs. 72-73; Stafford, 2000: 162, fig. 19; Osborne, 2000: 13, fig. 8; Grassigli, 1999: 112, fig. 16; Moraw, 1998: pl. 23.57; Carpenter, 1997: pl. 45A; Cavalier, 1997: 234-235, fig. 95; Krauskopf & Simon, 1997: 785 s.v. Mainades no. 33, pl. 529; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 6; Bazant, 1994: 501 s.v. Pothos 1 no. 6, pl. 394; Shapiro, 1993: 66, 129, 183, 234 no. 19, figs. 19, 37, 60, 76, 82; Hermary, 1990: 426 s.v. Himeros no. 14; *Add²* 364.

VP 49 (v.): New York, MMA 09.221.40. Fig. 5.7

Pyxis (type D) in the manner of the Meidias Painter

H. 0.076 (0.084 incl. lid)

Beyond an Ionic column stands Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) to the right, holding a footed chest and a sash in her left hand; Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sits on a *klismos* to the left; beyond a *kalathos* stands Hygieia (ΗΥΓΙΕΑ) to the left, holding a *plemmokhoe* in her right hand and a footed chest in her left hand; Eudaimonia ([ΕΥ]ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) stands slightly to the right, holding an eight-bead necklace in her right hand; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) runs to the left, balancing a stick on her outstretched right hand; Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΑ) stands to the right, holding a box and a sash in her left hand; Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) stands to the left, pointing her right index finger down.

410-400

ARV² 1328.99; BA 220655

Borg, 2005: 203-204 no. 10; Smith, 2005b: 16, 20-21, 23, fig. 17; Rosenzweig, 2004: 25, fig. 13;

Leventi, 2003: 157 cat. V 6; Borg, 2002: 189, 191, fig. 76; Ferrari, 2002: 28, 46, fig. 43; Osborne, 2000: 13, fig. 6; Stafford, 2000: 162, 191-192; Ferrari, 1995: 17-18; Shapiro, 1993: 32, 66, 78, 129, 181, 203, 230 no. 1, figs. 1, 83, 141, 162; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 141 s.v. Paidia no. 4, pl. 94; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 246 s.v. Peitho no. 29; *Add²* 364-365.

VP 50 (v.): London, BM 1898.7-16.6. Fig. 9.3

Bell krater by the Nikias Painter

H. 0.37

A: A nude, crowned youth runs to the left, holding a wreath between his hands; a female figure stands to the right, reaching her right hand towards a nude, crowned, and bearded Antiokhos (ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[ΟΣ]), who stands to the right, holding a torch in his left hand; behind a low wreathed altar, surmounted by a brazier, stands an older man, to the left, holding a staff in his right hand and tilting his head up, perhaps singing; another nude, crowned youth stands to the left.

B: Three standing, draped youths, in conversation, two with staffs and one with a strigil.

410-400

From Greece

ARV² 1333.1; BA 217462

Bentz, 2007: 76-77, fig. 7 & cover; Thöne, 1999: pl. 8.4; Kron, 1997: 997 s.v. Phylai no. 6; Kephaliadou, 1996: pl. 56.G4; Van Straten, 1995: fig. 14; Neils, 1994: 153, fig. 2; *Add²* 365; *Para* 480.

VP 51 (v.): Once Hope Collection

Small *kalpis hydria*

H. 0.18

Eunomia (?) stands to the right; beyond a plant and a large *kalathos* sits Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕ[Ι]Α) to the right on a rock, holding a box in both hands (?); Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) stands to the left, holding cloth in her left hand and gesturing towards Eukleia.

Late fifth century

From Gela

Borg, 2005: 204 no. 14; Borg, 2002: 190, fig. 79; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 247 s.v. Peitho no. 52 (ill.); Shapiro, 1993: 78-79, 203-204, 235 no. 24, fig. 32; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988c: 50 s.v. Eukleia no. 8; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988b: 64 s.v. Eunomia no. 14; Metzler, 1980: 74 n. 3; Hamdorf, 1964: 112, no. 447b, 112, no. 447c; Hampe, 1955: 119e, 121; Méztger, 1951: 19 n. 7; Guarducci, 1938: 5; Tillyard, 1923: 63-64 no. 114, pl. 15; *CIG* 8364.

VP 52 (v.): Empúries, Museo Arqueológico 1494. Fig. 5.3

Large *pelike*

A: *Kentauromakhia*?

B (upper level): Nike flies to the right, reaching her left arm to Dionysos, who sits to the left, holding a *thyrsos* (?) in his right hand; winged Hygieia (?) stands to the right, reaching her left arm up to decorate a trophy; winged Nike (NIKH) stands to the left, also decorating the trophy; Apollon (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) sits to the right, holding a lyre in his left arm; a female figure stands to the right, holding a *thyrsos* (?); a satyr (?) dances to the left; Komoidia (?) stands (?) to the left resting a *thyrsos* on her left shoulder; below, a small griffin (?) stands to the right, next to an *akanthos* column (aligned below the tripod); more (missing) figures include Galene (ΓΑ[ΛΗΝΗ]); a satyr sits in back view to the right, raising an *oinokhoe* in his right hand; below, a maenad; a satyr dances to the left; a maenad sits to the right; a maenad stands to the left; Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) stands to the left, holding a *thyrsos* in her right hand.

Other labels witnessed by earlier scholars: YTI[ΕΙ] A, ΘΑΛΕΑ, KOM[ΩΙΔΙΑ]. There is some discrepancy as to which figure each label identifies.

400-390

H. 0.645; max. diam. (body) 0.449

Empúries, from an unidentified tomb (said to be on a road near the beach) in the Portitxol Nekropolis

BA 9332

Csapo, 2010: 115-118, cat. D (ill.); Leventi, 2003: 157 cat. V 7; Borg, 2002: 217; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994c: 142 s.v. Paidia no. 12, pl. 96; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1994k: 899 s.v. Thaleia 4 no. 6; Shapiro, 1993: 129-130, 183-185, 246 no. 64, figs. 85, 143, 145; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992c: 92 s.v. Komodia no. 4 (A.); Kossatz-Deissmann, 1991: 94 fig. 6, 187-188, 190; Kossatz-Deissmann, 1988e: 153 s.v. Galene 2 no. 3; Trias de Arribas, 1967: 182-185 no. 589 pls. 100-104; Froning, 1971: 5 n. 30, 10-11, 15, 20, 66; Hibbs, 1962: 61-62, fig. 67; García y Bellido, 1954: 582-583 figs 492-493; CVA Musée Archéologique de Barcelone 1 (1951-1957) 36-38 pls. 31.2, 32-34.

VP 53 (v.): Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.354. Fig. 9.16

(Akro)cup, by a painter near the Diomedes Painter and the Jena Painter
H. 0.098

I: Beyond a low altar (or grave marker) stands a horse to the left, from which descends Sparta (ΣΠΑΡΤΗ), who sits slightly to the left and looks to the right.

400-390

From Tanagra

ARV² 1516.4; BA 231041

Métzger, 1996: 277-279, fig. 14; Sparkes, 1996: 150, fig. VI.9; Kourinou-Pikoula, 1994: 803 s.v. Sparte no. 4; Paul-Zinserling, 1994: 97-98 no. 1, pl. 43.2; Vickers & Gill, 1994: 117-118; McPhee & Pemberton, 1990: 127; Boardman, 1989a: 10, 230, fig. 365; Shapiro, 1988c: 206; Burn, 1987: 39; D. Gill in Vickers ed., 1985: 11, 13-14, figs. 7-8; *Para* 500; Caskey & Beazley, 1931-1963: 3.89-91 no. 175, pl. 106.

VP 54 (v.): Mannheim, Reissmuseum Cg 123

Calyx krater attributed to the Painter of Athens 12255
H. 29.0

A: Nude Eros stands to the right, holding the reins of a white bull that rears to the right, in front of an Ionic column topped by a white disk; Phyle (?) runs to the right, touching the horn of the bull and holding a sword or torch in her left hand.

B: Two draped youths with strigils (the second also with a sponge and an aryballos) stand to the right, facing a female figure standing in a frontal pose.

400-390

From Boiotia (found 1894)

ARV² 1435; BA 218047

Kron, 1997: 997 s.v. Phylai no. 7; Durand, 1987: 234, fig. 11; CVA Mannheim. Reiss-Museum 1 (1958) 40-41, pls. 29.4, 30.1-2, 4-5.

VP 55 (n.v.): Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T 958

Bell krater

H. 0.33

A: A nude youth advances to the left, leading to sacrifice an ox, whose horn is held by Phyle (?), who stands to the left; behind the ox stands another youth, pointing with his right hand.

400-390

ARV² 1435; BA 16409

Bentz, 2007: 78, fig. 10, pl. 8; *Lockender Lorbeer*, 2004: 210, fig. 22.10; E. Paul, 1997: 22-24 no. 7.

VP 56 (v.): Berlin Museums V.I. 3768. Fig. 5.5

Hydria attributed to the Jena Painter

H. 0.415

Habrosyne (ABPOΣYNH) sits to the right, holding two branches with white berries; below her sits a youth, on a rock, to the left; Paris (AΛEΞANΔPOΣ) stands to the right, holding two spears in his left hand and facing Helene (EAENA) who sits on a chest to the left, holding a mirror in her right hand; above her flutters a

nude Himeros (IMEPOΣ) to the left, awarding a wreath to Paris; another youth stands to the left, holding two spears in his left hand; above and behind him stands Peitho (ΠEΙΘΩ) to the left, holding her right hand in front of her face.

390-380

From Kimissala, Rhodes

ARV² 1516.81, 1697; UKV 17-18, 89 no. 145, figs. 27-28; BA 231037

Smith, 2005b: 14-15, 20, fig. 13; CVA Berlin 9 (2002) 65-67, pls. 40-42, 58.12, fig. 17; *Add²* 285.

VP 57 (v.): Athens, NM 1435 (CC 1932). Fig. 8.7

Calyx krater attributed to the Oinomaos Painter
Pres. H. 0.271

A (upper level): Pompai and Theoriai with seven (?) youths (Menes?)

A (lower level): a Pompe (Eiresione?) stands to the right, awarding a laurel wreath with her right hand to a youth, Pyanopsion (?), who sits to the left, raising his right hand in a speaking gesture (?) and holding in his left hand a laurel (?) branch, above which is a (waning) moon crescent; a Pompe (perhaps representing a procession to Eleusis) stands to the right, holding a wreath in her upraised left hand; a youth, Boedromion (?) sits to the right, holding on his lap a young, white goat, which stands to the right, below a (waxing) moon crescent; above a low altar sits Theoria (?) to the right; a youth, Hekatombaion (?) stands to the right, leaning on his staff and raising his right hand in a speaking gesture (?); a Pompe (representing Hieros Gamos) stands to the right; a youth, Gamelion (?), stands to the left, pointing his right forefinger down and cradling a *loutrophoros* in his left arm; a youth, Metageitnion or Maimakterion, sits to the left, holding a box in his right hand; at least two more figures (now missing).

B: A male figure (?) sits to the right.

380-370

From Hermione

ARV² 1440.4; BA 218101

Smith, 2009: 475 s.v. Theoria no. 2; Simon, 1994b: 435 s.v. Pompe no. 3; Parrish, 1992: 482 s.v. Meneses no. 1, pl. 256; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 280 fig. 282; *Add²* 377.

VP 58 (v.): New York, MMA 25.190. Fig. 8.6

Kerch *khous* by the Pompe Painter (name vase)
H. 0.235

Nude Eros (ΕΡΩΣ) stands on a rocky piece of land (?) to the right, bending over to tie his left sandal; beyond a *kanoun* stands Pompe (ΠΟΜΠΗ), slightly to the left, holding an untied wreath between both hands and looking at Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), who sits to the right in a chair on a low platform, holding a *thyrsos* in his left hand.

370-360

Said to be from Athens

UKV 37, 66, 97, 104, *passim*, no. 327; BA 503
Neils, 2008: 243, fig. 1; Schefold, 1998: 303, fig. 82; Biers, 1996: 279-280, fig. 9.44; Tiverios, 1996: 201, fig. 185; Simon, 1994b: 435 s.v. Pompe no. 2, pl. 348; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 288 fig. 291; Valavanis, 1991: 153 n. 408.

VP 59 (v.): Istanbul Archaeological Museum 2576. Fig. 10.7

Kerch *hydria* attributed to the Helena Painter
H. 0.46

Upper level: Triptolemos in his winged chariot between two female figures; a youth.

Lower level: A female figure stands to the right; Kore stands in a near frontal pose, holding an indeterminate object in her left hand and torches in her right hand; crowned Ge rises out of the ground to the right, resting a staff on her left

shoulder and lifting a *keras*, on top of which is sits Ploutos, to the left; Ploutos reaches to the right, towards crowned Demeter, who stands just beyond a 'Bakkhos ring', holding a sceptre in her upraised right hand and reaching her left hand towards Ploutos; Iakkhos runs to the right, holding a short torch in each hand.

370-360

From Rhodes (found 1894)

UKV 18 no. 152, pls. 1-22, fig. 26, 34

Métzger, 1996: 272, fig. 8; Bemmman, 1994: 189-190 A 30; Clinton, 1994b: 416-417 s.v. Ploutos no. 7; Clinton, 1992: 103-104, 133 no. 3, fig. 29.

VP 60 (v.): Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 2670. Fig. 10.2

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene (or Tykhe?) and Ploutos (on a column)

Pres. H. 0.125

Eirene (or Tykhe?) stands to the left, holding a sceptre in her right hand and cradling in her left arm a *keras*, from which emerges Ploutos.

360/59?

From Eleusis

BA 15775

Bentz, 1998: 173 no. 4.060; Bemmman, 1994: 193 A 36; Valavanis, 1991: 241-243 cat. 11, pl. 72B; Eschbach, 1986: 59-60 A 3, cat. 40, fig. 40, pl. 17.1; Simon, 1986: 703 s.v. Eirene no. 7, pl. 541; Kanta, 1980: 126 fig. 65.

VP 61 (v.): Athens, NM 20044. Fig. 10.1

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos, attributed to the Marsyas Painter

H. 0.728

A: ΑΡΧΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΜΗΔΗΣ, inscribed next to a tall Ionic column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a boy, Ploutos, who holds a *keras* in his left arm and

reaches his right hand towards Eirene; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is another inscription, ΤΟΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΛΟΝ, along a column with statue group identical to that on the left.

B: Two nude athletes wrestle between a bearded male figure, standing to the right, holding a grain stalk in his left hand, and another nude male figure, an *ephedros*, who stands to the left.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)

From Eretria, building plot 740 (E/5), near the Gymnasion (found 1969)

BA 31660

Bentz, 1998: 172 no. 4.050, pl. 112; Valavanis, 1997: fig. 6; Bemmman, 1994: 192 A 34; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 283 fig. 285; Valavanis, 1991: 34-38 no. 5, K2, figs. 9, 22, 23; *Mind and Body*, 1989: 348-349 no. 235 (colour pl.); Poliakoff, 1987: 40, fig. 31; Eschbach, 1986: 61 C 1, kat. 43, figs. 445, pl. 18.1-2; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6a-d, pl. 541; Poliakoff, 1982: pl. 8; Themelis, 1980: 268-269, fig. 100a, 103-104a.

VP 62 (v.): Athens, NM 20045

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene (or Tykhe?) and Ploutos, attributed to the Marsyas Painter

H. 0.735

A: ΑΡΧΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΜΗΔΗΣ, inscribed next to a tall Ionic column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a *keras*, from which emerges a boy, Ploutos, who reaches his right hand towards Eirene; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is another inscription, ΤΟΝΑΘ[Ε]ΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΛΟΝ, along a column with statue group identical to that on the left, except that the boy is shown holding a smaller black *keras*, rather than emerging from it.

B: A bearded male figure stands to the right, holding a grain stalk in his right hand; Nike flies to the right, awarding a garland to a nude

pankratiast who dominates another pankratiast; Olympias (?) stands to the left.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)

From Eretria, building plot 740 (E/5), near the Gymnasion (found 1969)

BA 31339

Lockender Lorbeer, 2004: 51, fig. 5.9; Bentz, 1998: 172 no. 4.051, pls. 110, 112; Valavanis, 1997: fig. 7; Bemmman, 1994: 192 A 33; Simon, 1994a: 38 s.v. Olympias no. 38 no. 3; Moustaka, 1992: 877 s.v. Nike no. 325; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 282, figs. 284a-c; Valavanis, 1991: 42-45 K 4, 152-157, 268-286, pls. 29, 46.2; *Mind and Body*, 1989: 289-290 no. 178 (colour pl.); Eschbach, 1986: 61 C2, kat. 44, figs. 46-47, pls. 18.3-4; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6b, pl. 541; Kahil, 1985: 323 pl. 56; Poliakoff, 1982: pl. 2; Themelis, 1980: 268, fig. 101a.

VP 63 (v.): Athens, NM 20046

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos, attributed to the Painter of Athens 12592

H. 0.716

A: [ΤΟ]ΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΛΟΝ, inscribed next to a tall Aiolic column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a boy, Ploutos, who holds a *keras* in his left arm and reaches his right hand towards Eirene; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is another column with statue group identical to that on the left; inscription [Κ]ΑΛΛΙΜΗΔΗΣΑΡΧΩΝ.

B: Two wrestlers between two Nikai, one standing to the right and holding a palm frond in her right hand, the other flying down from the upper left, awarding a taenia to the superior wrestler; a third nude male figure, an *ephedros*, stands to the left.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)?

From Eretria, building plot 740 (E/5), near the Gymnasion (found 1969)

BA 16230

Stafford, 2000: 179, fig. 23; Bentz, 1998: 172-173 no. 4.052, pls. 112-113; Tiverios, 1996: 97, fig. 60; Bemmman, 1994: 192-193 A 35; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 282 fig. 284; Valavanis, 1991: 30-34 K 4, figs. 11, 26-27; *Mind and Body*, 1989: 270-272, no. 163 (colour pls.); Poliakoff, 1987: 49, fig. 42; Eschbach, 1986: 59 A 1, kat. 38, figs. 36-37, pl. 16.1-2; Böhr & Martini, 1986: pl. 45.2; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6a-d, pl. 541; Scheibler, 1984: 47, fig. 14; Poliakoff, 1982: pl. 1A; Themelis, 1980: 268, figs. 112-115.

VP 64 (v.): Athens, NM 20049

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos, attributed to the Painter of the Wedding Procession
H. 0.718

A: [TO]NAΘENEΘENAΘAON, inscribed next to a tall Ionic column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a boy, Ploutos, who holds a *keras* in his left arm and reaches his right hand towards Eirene; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is another column with a different statue group (indistinct); inscription [K]AΛΛIMHΔHΣAPX[QN].

B: Two wrestlers between a bearded referee, who stands to the right, and Olympias (OΛY[MII] IAΣ), who stands in a nearly frontal pose.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)

From Eretria, building plot 740 (E/5), near the Gymnasion (found 1969)

BA 8011

Bentz, 1998: 173 no. 4.053, pls. 112-113; Valavanis, 1991: 38-41 no. 6, K 3, pls. 10, 24, 25; Bemmman, 1994: 194 A 39; Eschbach, 1986: 60 B 1, kat. 42, figs. 42-43, pl. 17.3-4; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6a-d, pl. 541.

VP 65 (v.): Eretria, Archaeological Museum 14814

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos, attributed to the Marsyas Painter
H. 0.745

A: [TONAΘ]ENEΘENAΘA[O]N, inscribed next to a tall Aiolic (?) column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a boy, Ploutos, who holds a *keras* in his left arm and reaches his right hand towards Eirene; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is another column with a statue group (indistinct), flanked by an inscription [AP]XΩNKAAΛIMHΔHΣ.

B: Two nude wrestlers between a bearded referee, who stands to the right, and Olympias (OΛY[MII] IAΣ), who stands in a nearly frontal pose.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)

Eretria, building plot 740 (E/5), near the Gymnasion (found 1976)

BA 6104

Bentz, 1998: 173 no. 4.054, pl. 114; Simon, 1997a: 102, fig. 8; Bemmman, 1994: 193-194 A 37; Simon, 1994a: 38 s.v. Olympias no. 38 no. 2; Valavanis, 1991: 45-48 K 5, 268-286, pls. 12, 28, 29, 46.1; Simon, 1988: 7, pl. 5; Eschbach, 1986: 61 C 3, kat. 45, fig. 48, pl. 18.5; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6e, pl. 541; Themelis, 1980: 268-270, figs. 96-100a, 101b, 102.

VP 66 (v.): Eretria, Archaeological Museum 14815

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos, attributed to the Painter of Athens 12592
H. 0.712

A: [TONAΘ]ENEΘENAΘA[O]N, inscribed next to a tall Aiolic (?) column, on which stands a statue of Eirene, to the right, cradling in her left arm a boy, Ploutos, who holds a *keras* in his left arm and reaches his right hand towards Eirene;

beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, profile to the right, is an identical column (?).

B: Two nude wrestlers between a nude male figure, who stands to the right, with a Nike, who flies to the right, and a bearded (?) male figure, who stands to the left.

360/59

From Eretria, building plot 740 (FIS), near the Gymnasium (found 1969, 1976)

BA 5481

Rolley, 1999: 213 fig. 204; Bentz, 1998: 173 no. 4.055, pl. 114; Bemmman, 1994: 191 A 32; Valavanis, 1991: 48 no. 9, K 6, pls. 13, 30, 31; Simon, 1988: 7; Eschbach, 1986: 59 kat. 39 figs. 38-39, pl. 16.2, 4; Simon, 1986: 702-703 s.v. Eirene no. 6e-f, pl. 541; Themelis, 1980: 270-271, pls. 105-111.

VP 67 (n.v.): Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1927.4475

Panathenaic prize *amphora* with a representation of Eirene and Ploutos

P.H. 0.048

A: Eirene stands slightly to the right, facing Ploutos, a small, white boy, with white (?) hair, and the top of the *keras* to his right; the bent right arm of an archaistic Athena Promakhos, standing profile to the left.

360/59 (arkhonship of Kallimedes)?
From Athens (found 1914)

BA 11815

Bentz, 1998: 173 no. 4.056; Bemmman, 1994: 194 A 38; Valavanis, 1991: 242-243 no. 12, pl. 72E; Eschbach, 1986: 60 A 4, kat. 41, fig. 41, pl. 17.2; Simon, 1986: 703 s.v. Eirene cf. no. 7, pl. 541; Jung, 1976: 127 n. 133, 128; CVA Oxford 2 (1931) pl. III H 2.30.

VP 68 (v.): Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Art Museums 1925.30.124. Fig. 8.9

Panathenaic prize *amphora* attributed to the Marsyas Painter

H. 0.8

A: ΘΕΙΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣΗΡΧΕ, inscribed along a Doric column surmounted by a statue of Athena; beyond an archaistic Athena Promakhos, a statue of Zeus Nikephoros atop a similar Doric column, flanked by the inscription, ΤΟΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΑΛΟΝ.

B: Two wrestlers, standing near frontal, between Olympias (ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ), who leans in a near frontal pose on a pillar, turning to look around to the athletes, and a bearded trainer, who stands to the left, raising his right hand.

340/39 (arkhonship of Theophrastos)

From Capua (a tomb in the vicinity of Naples)

ABV 414.2; BA 303148

Bentz, 1998: 176 no. 4.081, pls. 119-120; Tiverios, 1997: 339 s.v. Zeus no. 190, pl. 227; Moreno ed., 1995: 89, fig. 4.11.7; Simon, 1994a: 38 s.v. Olympias no. 4, pl. 25; C.M. Robertson, 1992: 286, figs. 288-289; Valavanis, 1991: 153, 254, 277-286, figs. 81, 84b; *Add²* 108; *Para* 178; CVA Hoppin and Gallatin Collections (1926) III H f 6, pl. 6.

VP 69 (v.): St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum Паb. 8 (St. 1792, KAB 25a). Figs. 9.20 (perhaps Ge and Makedonia) and 10.6 (Demeter and Ploutos)

Kerch *pelike* by the Eleusinian Painter (name vase)

H. 0.382

A (upper level): Herakles, a male figure, Triptolemos, and Dionysos.

A (lower level): Aphrodite sits to the left; Eros crouches to the left; Demeter sits slightly to the left, cradling a gold sceptre in her right hand; Ploutos stands slightly to the left, cradling in his left arm an empty gold *keras*; Persephone leans on a Doric colonette to the right, holding a large torch in her right arm; a female figure sits to the left on a white rock.

B (upper level): A female figure stands to the left; Kore (?) sits to the left, holding a torch in each hand; white Iris (?) flies to the left; bearded Zeus sits on a chryselephantine (?) throne to the left,

holding a sceptre in his left hand and placing his feet on a gold footstool; Hera stands in a near frontal pose.

B (lower level): Ge rises to the right, holding forward a red object (a *nebris*?) or child to Hermes (?), who lunges to the left; Athena runs to the left, holding a gold shield on her bent left arm; Makedonia (?) sits to the right on a rock, holding a white tympanon on her left arm.

340-330

From Kerch, Pavloskoi Kurgan

ARV² 1476.1, 1695; UKV 40 no. 368, pl. 35.1-2; BA 230431

A.E. Petrakova in Trofimova ed., 2007: 262-263 no. 156; Parker, 2005: 358; Kalashnik, 2004: fig. 38; Ghisellini, 1999: 32, fig. 22; *Zwei Gesichter*, 1997: 177, no. 80; *Gold der Skythen*, 1997: 177, no. 80; Simon, 1997a: 105-106, fig. 14; Métzger, 1996: 270, 273, figs. 8, 10-11; Tiverios, 1996: 201, fig. 186; Métzger, 1995: 8, 13, figs. 1, 6; Bemmman, 1994: 315, fig. 23; Clinton, 1994b: 417 s.v. Ploutos no 9; Giudice, 1994: 819 s.v. Styx no. 6a; Williams & Ogden, 1994: 167, fig. 152; Clinton, 1992: 133, 172-173, no. 2, figs. 20-21; Simon, 1992a: 37 s.v. Keryx no. 6; Sarian, 1992: 991-992 s.v. Hekate no. 24; Jost, 1992: 293, fig. 5; Valavanis, 1991: 283-286; Himmelmann, 1990: 104, fig. 55; *Add²* 381; *Para* 496.

VP 70 (n.v.): Once Naples, Hamilton Collection 1476. Fig. 10.5

A plate (?) perhaps from Group YZ

Eirene or Ge stands to the right, holding an infant, Ploutos or Dionysos, on a *nebris*, towards Hermes, who advances to the left, holding the child's right hand in his left hand; a *kerykeion* lies on the ground behind his right foot.

ARV² 1525.4; BA 231161

Tischbein, 1795: 3.14-15, pl. 8.

VP 71 (v.): St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum IO.0.10 (St. 1793, KAB 43b). Fig. 4.6

Kerch *pelike*, with ribbed handles, attributed to the Eleusinian Painter

H. 0.448

A: Peitho (?) stands to the right, leaning on the shoulder of Aphrodite, who sits slightly to the right; Hermes stands to the right, holding a *kerykeion* in his right hand; in front of him sits Themis (?) on an *omphalos*, to the right, beseeching with her left hand bearded Zeus, who sits to the right, holding a sceptre in his left arm; above him hovers Nike, to the right, crowning Athena, who stands to the left, holding a spear in her left hand; a female figure (Thetis, Selene, Nyx, or Hesperos) rides to the left on a horse rearing to the right; Hermes (?) runs to the right, holding a rock (?) in his left hand, obscured by the *khlamys*.

B (probably by a different artist): Seated Maenad, panther, Eros, seated Dionysos, maenad.

340-330

From Kerch, Juz Oba

ARV² 1476.2, 1695; UKV 42 no. 369, pl. 32.1-3; BA 230432

Karanastassi, 1997: 1202-1203 s.v. Themis no. 18; Simon, 1997: 105; Bonanome, 1995: 86, fig. 42; Tancke, 1995: 311, pl. 61.5; Icard-Gianolio, 1994: 244 s.v. Peitho no. 9; Shapiro, 1993: 223; Simon, 1992b: 650 s.v. Momos no. 3; Valavanis, 1991: 282, pl. 124; Arafat, 1990: 124-130, fig. 6, 199 cat. 6.5; Siebert, 1990: 351 s.v. Hermes no. 778; *Add²* 381; *Para* 496.

VP 72 Riggisberg (Bern), Abegg-Stiftung 3.127.73

Kerch *hydria* attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter

H. 0.47

Eubouleus (?) and Dionysos stand in near frontal poses, Dionysos holding a gold *thyrsos* in his right hand; Demeter sits to the left on a blue cista, holding a sceptre in her left hand. A boy, Ploutos, stands in a near frontal pose, resting his right elbow on the cista and cradling in his left

arm a *keras*. Kore stands in a near frontal pose, holding two torches in her left arm; Eleusis or Rhea sits to the left on an *omphalos*, resting her feet on a footstool; Eros sits to the right.

340-330

BA 10107

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Fig. 1.1 VP 26: London, BM 1772.3-20.30*. *Hydria* by the Meidias Painter (name vase), signed by the potter Meidias. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 1.2 VP 26: Rolled-out drawing of the front, after FR pl. 8.



Fig. 1.3 VP 26: Rolled-out drawing of the lower register (back left), after FR pl. 9.



Fig. 2.1 S 4h: Munich, Glyptothek 219. Statue of Eirene and Ploutos. Copy after Kephisodotos' original. Photo: Author.



Fig. 2.2 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3722. Bilingual Nikosthenic neck *amphora* showing Dike and Adikia (ARV² 320.11; *Add*² 151; *Para* 321; CVA Vienna 2, pl. 51; BA 200050). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2.3 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 698. Nolan *amphora* attributed to the Providence Painter (ARV² 637.29, 1610; BA 207380). Nike with a *kithara*. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2.4 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 20.187. Name vase (*pelike*) of the Trophy Painter (ARV² 857.2; *Add²* 298; *Para* 425; BA 212473). Nike erecting a trophy. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 2.5 New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1985.4.1. Calyx krater by the Aigisthos Painter (ARV² 857.2; *Add²* 298; *Para* 425; BA 44751). Poseidon and Nike. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2.6 VP 5: Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II 1, 117. *Lekythos* said to be in the style of the Providence Painter. Ananke. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2.7 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1981.173. *Oinokhoe* (BA 1107). Side A: Eurymedon. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2.8 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1981.173. *Oinokhoe* (BA 1107). Side B: Skythian. Photo: Museum.

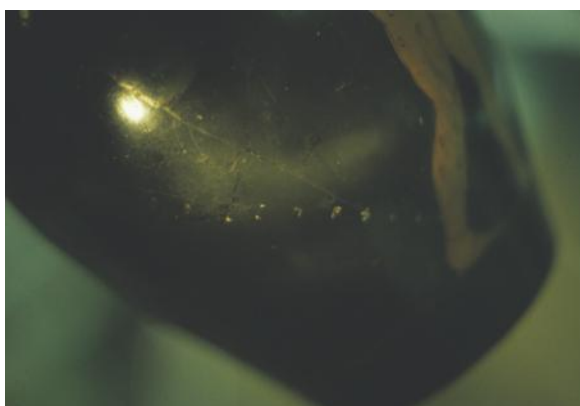


Fig. 2.9 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1981.173. *Oinokhoe* (BA 1107). Side B: Dipinto in lower left. Photo: Author.



Fig. 3.1 VP 3: Ex Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.6. Calyx krater signed by Syriskos (=the Copenhagen Painter). Side A (front): Okeanos, Ge Panteleia, and Dionysos. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 3.2 VP 3: Ex Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.6. Calyx krater signed by Syriskos (=the Copenhagen Painter). Side B (back): Themis between Balos and Epaphos. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.

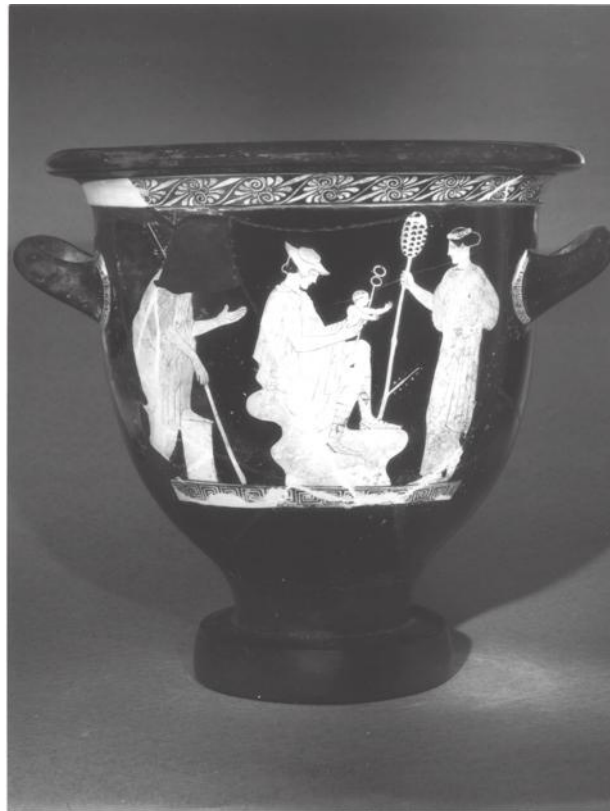


Fig. 3.3 London, BM cat. no. E 492. Bell krater attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter (ARV² 619.16; *Add*² 270; BA 207166). Tethys, Hermes, Dionysos, and Mainas. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.4 **VP 2:** Germany, private collection. Pointed *amphora* attributed to Syriskos (=the Copenhagen Painter). Side A: Hesperid, Okeanos, Strymon, and others. Photo: E. Lerch, Ascona (courtesy H.A. Cahn).



Fig. 3.5 **VP 2:** Germany, private collection. Pointed *amphora* attributed to Syriskos (=the Copenhagen Painter). Side B: Hesperid, Herakles, Athena, and Atlas. Photo: E. Lerch, Ascona (courtesy H.A. Cahn).



Fig. 3.6 VP 6: Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum. *Skyphos* near the Lewis Painter.
Side A: Salamis and Kore. Photo D. Widmer (courtesy H.A. Cahn).



Fig. 3.7 VP 6: Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum. *Skyphos* near the Lewis Painter.
Side B: Thebe and Demeter. Photo D. Widmer (courtesy H.A. Cahn).



Fig. 3.8 VP 1: London, BM 1873.8-20.375 (cat. no. E 140). *Skyphos* attributed to Makron. Side A: Demeter, Triptolemos, Kore, and Eleusis. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.9 VP 4: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73. Handleless *stamnos*, attributed to the Syleus Painter. Side B: Eleusis (with *oinokhoe*) and Eleusinian divinities. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3.10 **VP 11:** Bologna, Museo Civico PU 273. Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter (name vase). Side B: Male figure, Aias, Athena, Menestheus, Melite. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3.11 **VP 20:** Warsaw National Museum 142458 MN. Cup attributed to the Eretria Painter. Side B: Lemnos, Delos, satyr, and Tethys. Photo: Krzysztof Wilczynski (courtesy Museum).



Fig. 3.12 **VP 20:** Warsaw National Museum 142458. Cup attributed to the Eretria Painter. Tondo: Demon and Khoros. Photo: S. Sobkowicz (courtesy Museum).



Fig. 4.1 Reconstruction of the cult statue of Nemesis of Rhamnous (S 2) on her relief decorated base (R 1), showing Helene, Leda, Nemesis, and others, by Agorakritos of Paros. Drawing after Despines (statue) and Petrakos 1986, 92 (base).



Fig. 4.2 VP 16: Berlin Museums 30036. Pointed *amphoriskos* attributed to the Heimarmene Painter (name vase). Nemesis, Eukleia (?), Peitho, Helene, Aphrodite, Himeros, Paris, Heimarmene, and Themis (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 4.3 **VP 7:** Tübingen University S./10 1347 (F 2, ex. Arndt Coll.). *Skyphos*. Side A: Themis and Bendis. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 4.4 **VP 8:** Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro romano (Museo Civico) 25653. Stemless cup attributed to the Phiale Painter. Tondo: Themis. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 4.5 **VP 12:** Berlin Museums F 2538. Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter. Tondo: Themis with Aigeus. Photo: Museum.

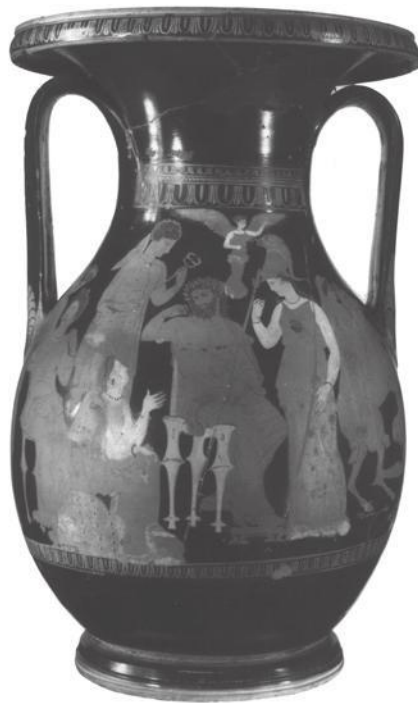


Fig. 4.6 **VP 71:** St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum IO.0.10. Kerch *pelike*, attributed to the Eleusinian Painter. Side A: Themis beseeches Zeus, at the planning of the Trojan War. Photo: Museum.

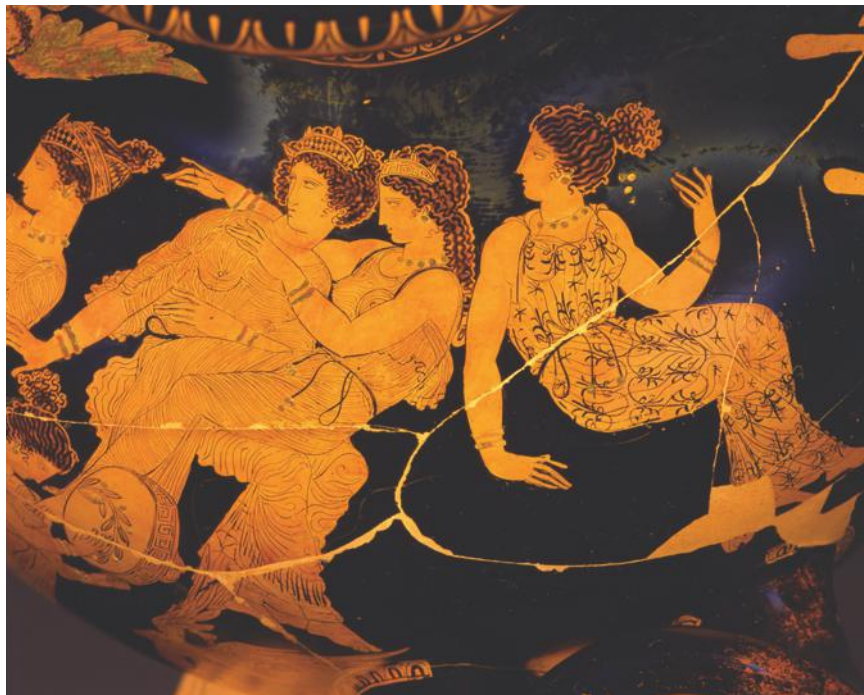


Fig. 5.1 **VP 24:** Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81948. *Hydria* attributed to the Meidias Painter. Detail: Paidia in the lap of Hygieia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.2 VP 25: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81947. *Hydria* attributed to the Meidias Painter. Detail: Eudaimonia and Hygieia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.3 VP 52: Empúries, Museo Arqueológico 1494. Detail: Nike and winged Hygieia (?), on the shoulder of a large *pelike*. Photo: Author.



Fig. 5.4 VP 42: Current location unknown; Christie's 28.4.93, lot 30 (ex. Embirikos Coll., London). Squat *lekythos* (tallboy), in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Eunomia (?), Eukleia, Eros, Helene, and Pothos. Photos: courtesy Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter.

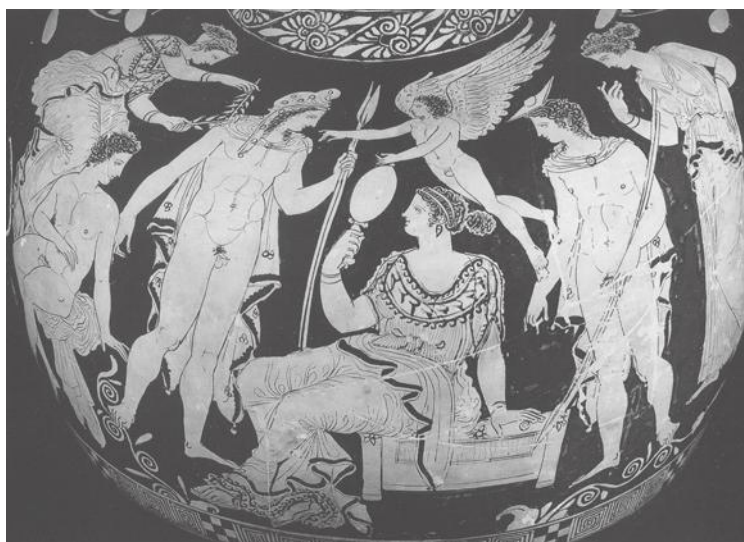


Fig. 5.5 **VP 56:** Berlin Museums V.I. 3768. *Hydria* attributed to the Jena Painter showing Habrosyne, Himeros, and Peitho at the meeting of Paris and Helene. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.6 **VP 19:** Athens, NM 1629. *Epinetron* by the Eretria Painter (name vase). Side A: Harmonia's wedding preparations. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.7 **VP 49:** New York, MMA 09.221.40 (Rogers Fund, 1909). *Pyxis* (type d), in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Rolled-out image, showing Peitho, Aphrodite, Hygieia, Eudaimonia, Paidia, Eukleia, and Eunomia. Image after Richter and Hall, 1936: pl. 159.

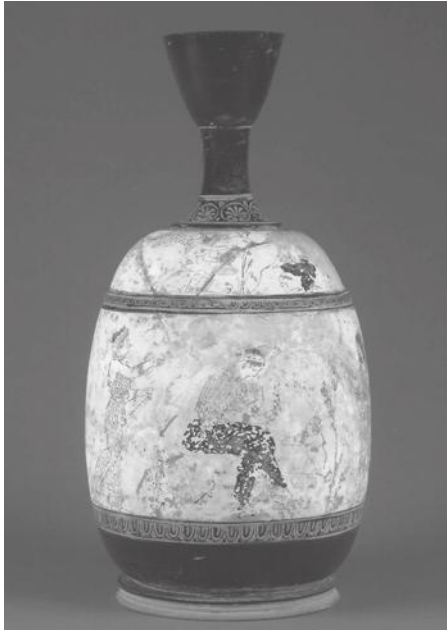


Fig. 5.8 VP 17: Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum 31.80. White-ground squat *lekythos* attributed to the Eretria Painter, showing Peitho, Eukleia (?), Kephimos (?), and Eunomia. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.

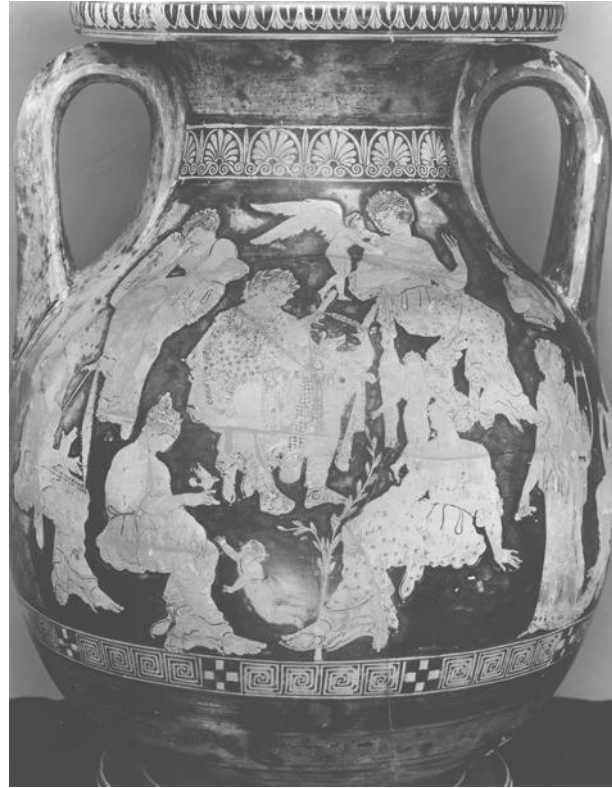


Fig. 5.9 VP 27: New York, MMA 37.11.23 (Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1937). *Pelike* attributed to the Meidias Painter, showing Harmonia and Peitho (far right), with Mousaios and others. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 5.10 VP 21: Ruvo, Museo Jatta 36818. Volute krater attributed to the Kadmos Painter. Side A: Dionysos and entourage, including Eudaimonia and Opora. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.11 VP 24: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81948. *Hydria* attributed to the Meidias Painter. Detail: Eutykhia and Eudaimonia.



Fig. 5.12 **VP 37**: London, BM 1846.9-25.12. Squat *lekythos*, with ridged handle, in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Front: Pandaisia, Eros, Eudaimonia, and Polykles. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.13 **VP 23**: Paris, Louvre MNB 2109. Squat *lekythos* attributed to Aison. Eudaimonia (?) and Paidia (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5.14 **VP 28**: Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Didactisch Museum Archeologie (KUL-A)-1000. Plate attributed to the Meidias Painter. Eukleia (?), Epidauros, Asklepios, and Eudaimonia. Photo: Bruno Vandermeulen (courtesy Museum).

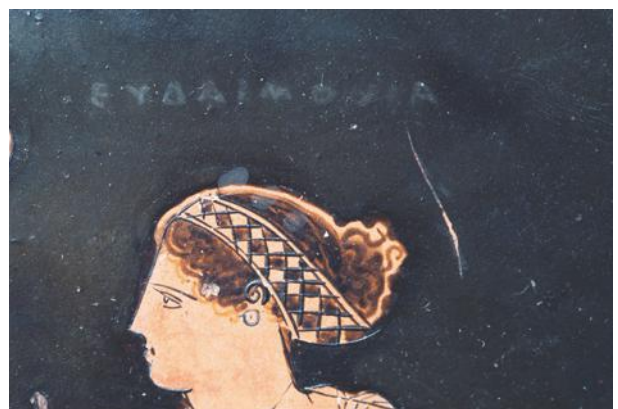


Fig. 5.15 **VP 28**: Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Didactisch Museum Archeologie (KUL-A)-1000. Plate attributed to the Meidias Painter. Detail: Eudaimonia. Photo: Bruno Vandermeulen (courtesy Museum).

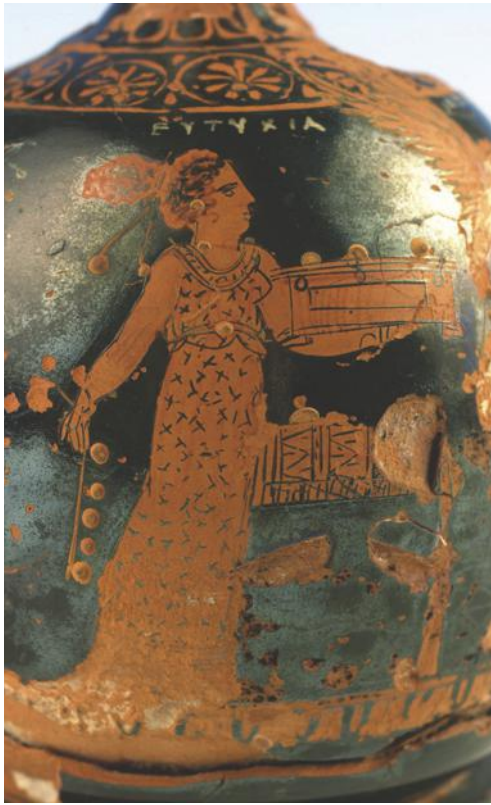


Fig. 5.16 **VP 32**: University of Reading, Ure Museum 52.3.2. Squat *lekythos* attributed to the Makaria Painter. Detail: Eutykhia. Photo: Museum.

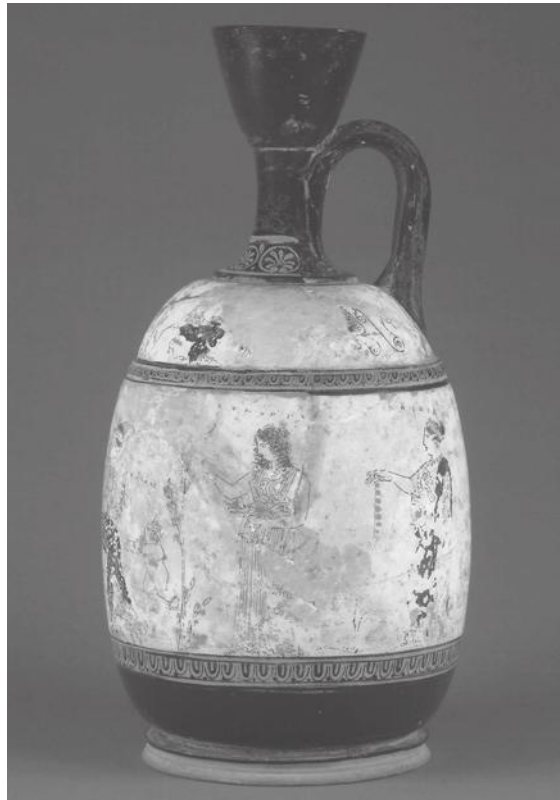


Fig. 5.18 **VP 17**: Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum 31.80. White-ground squat *lekythos* attributed to the Eretria Painter. Right side, showing Eukleia (?), Kephimos (?), Eunomia, and Paidia. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 5.17 **VP 13**: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4616 (L 491). Cup attributed to the Kodros Painter. Exterior, side B: Paidia among satyrs. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6.1 **VP 46:** Mainz University 118. *Lekanis* lid in the manner of the Meidias Painter. (From lower left) unlabelled female, Eukleia, Eunomia, unlabelled female, Paidia, Aphrodite (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6.2 **VP 39:** Budapest, Szepmuveszeti T 754. *Oinokhoe*, with trefoil lip and ridged handle, in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Eunomia, Apollon, and Eukleia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6.3 VP 36: Berlin Museums 2617 (F 2705). Squat *lekythos* (tallboy) attributed to the Painter of the Frankfurt Acorn. Eunomia and Eukleia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 7.1 **R 2**. Brauron Museum 1170. Fragmentary round altar or statue base. Eirene, Dionysos, and a satyr. Photo: Author.



Fig. 7.2 **VP 22**: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1024. Calyx krater attributed to the Dinos Painter. Eirene, Opora, Dionysos, and others. Photo: Museum.

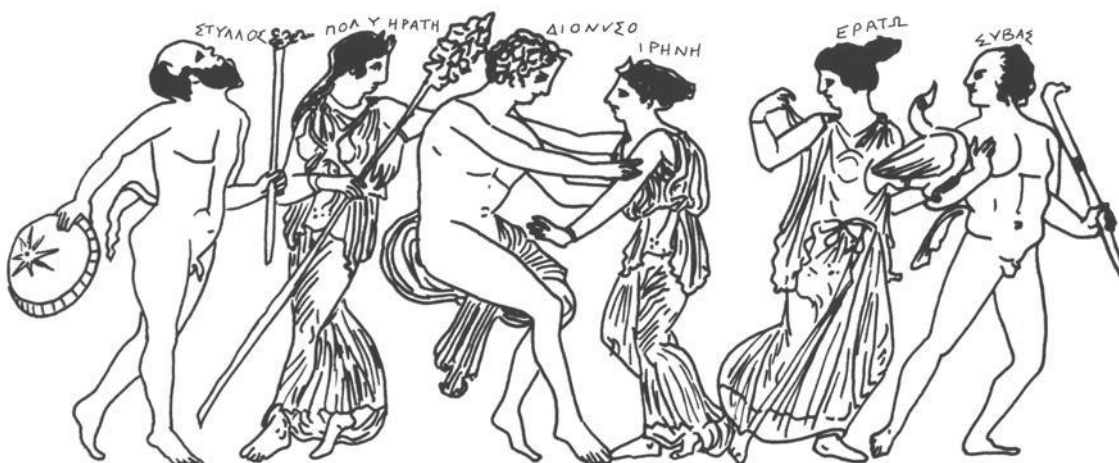


Fig. 7.3 **VP 35**: Once Paris, Raoul-Rochette Collection. *Pelike* attributed to the Group of Naples 3235. Dionysos and Eirene with entourage, including Pannykhis. Drawing: Author, after Shapiro, 1993: fig. 9.

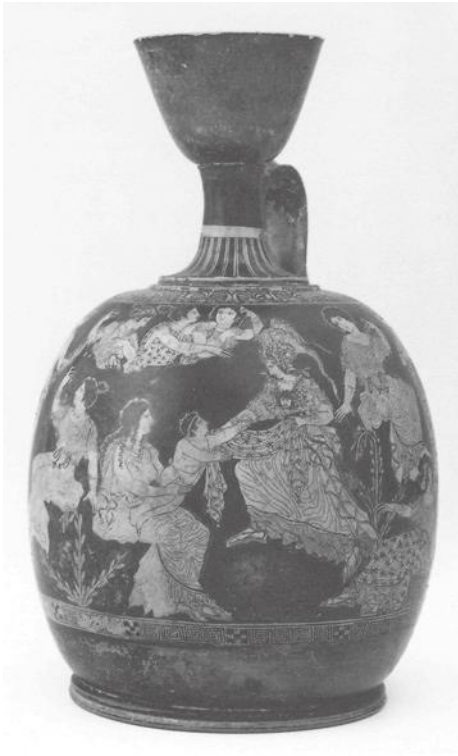


Fig. 8.1 VP 29: Cleveland Museum of Art 82.142. Squat *lekythos* attributed to the Meidias Painter. Attika or Ge at the birth of Erikhthonios. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8.2 VP 15: Stanford University Museum of Art 70.12. Volute krater in the manner of the Kleophon Painter. Side B: Pompe, Papposilenos, Dionysos, and Eleusis (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8.3 VP 24: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81948. *Hydria* attributed to the Meidias Painter. Detail: Pannykhis. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8.4 **VP 38**: Athens, NM, Vlasto Collection no. 47. *Khous*, with trefoil lip, in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Centre: Pompe, Eros (?), and Hygieia surround a *kanoun*. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8.5 **VP 41**: New York, MMA 11.213.2. Squat *lekythos* in the manner of the Meidias Painter, showing Peitho, Aphrodite, Pothos, Khrysippos, and Pompe. After Richter and Hall, 1936: pl. 159.



Fig. 8.6 **VP 58**: New York, MMA 25.190 (Rogers Fund, 1925). Kerch *khous*, with trefoil lip and ribbed handle, by the Pompe Painter (name vase), showing Eros, Pompe, and Dionysos. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 8.7 **VP 57**: Athens, NM 1435. Calyx krater attributed to the Oinomaos Painter, showing perhaps Menes, Pompai, and Theoriai. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8.9 **VP 68**: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Art Museums (Sackler) 1925.30.124. Panathenaic prize amphora, attributed to the Marsyas Painter. Side B, detail: Olympias. Photo: Museum.

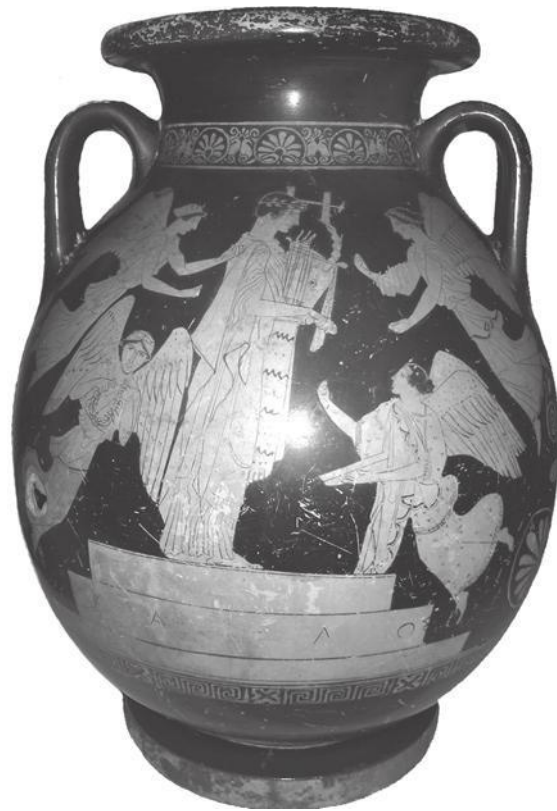


Fig. 8.8 Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology (ARV² 1044.9). *Pelike* attributed to the Epimedes Painter. Nikai of Nemea, Marathon, Isthmia, and the Panathenaia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.1 Eichenzell, Museum Schloß Fasanerie AV 77. Name vase (calyx krater) of the Kekrops Painter (ARV² 1346.1; *Add*² 368; *Para* 482; BA 217589). Detail showing Attika (?) behind Athena. Photo: Museum.

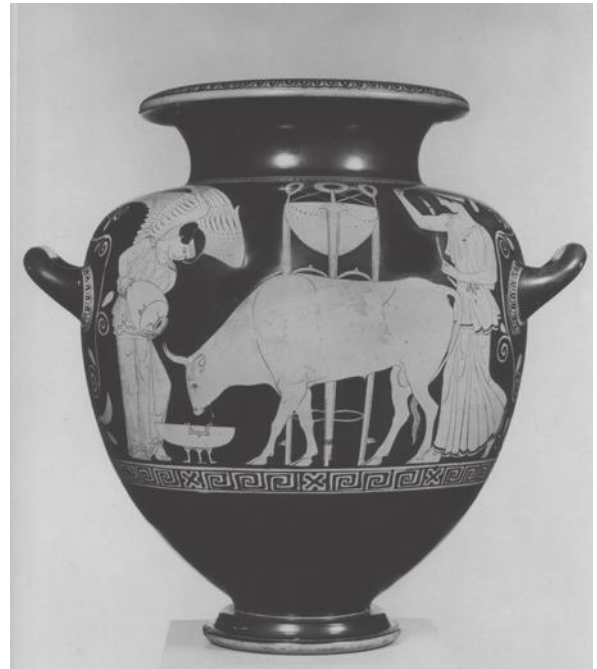


Fig. 9.2 VP 9: Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 1919. *Stamnos* attributed to the Hektor Painter. Side A: Nike, bull, and Phyle (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.3 VP 50: London, BM 1898.7-16.6. Bell krater by the Nikias Painter. Side A: 3 torch racers, one labelled "Antiokh...", Phyle (?) and an old man. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 9.4 R 9: Athens, AM 1338. Relief decorated statue base, 'The Atarbos Base'. Pyrrhic dancers, perhaps Phylai, and Dithyramboi. Photo: Craig and Marie Mauzy.



Fig. 9.5 **R 9:** Athens, AM 1338. Relief decorated statue base, 'The Atarbos Base'. Phylai (?) between Pyrrhic dancers and Dithyramboi. Photo: Author.



Fig. 9.6 **DR 41:** Athens, NM 2958. Relief, probably from a catalogue of liturgists. Honorand, Demos (?), and Eutaxia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.7 **VP 8:** Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro romano (Museo Civico) 25653. Stemless cup attributed to the Phiale Painter. Exterior, side A: Theseus with Marathon (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.8 **DR 17:** Athens, NM 1473. Relief from an honorary decree. Athena, Boule, and honorand. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.9 **DR 33:** Athens, EM 2809. Relief from an honorary decree. Demos and honorand. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.10 **DR 10**: Athens, NM 1467. Relief from an alliance decree between Athens and Korkyra. Zeus or Demos, Hera or Korkyra, Athena. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.11 **DR 40**: Athens, Agora I 6524. Relief on an Athenian law against tyranny. Demos and Demokratia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.12 **DR 18**: Athens, AM 2663. Relief from an honorary decree. Honorand, Athena, and Boule (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.13 **R 6**: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.99.1937. Relief from a statue base, showing Boule (?). Photo: Author.



Fig. 9.14 **DR 23**: Athens, AM 3006. Relief from an honorary decree. Boule (or Makedonia), honorand, and Athena. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.16 **VP 53**: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.354. (Acro)cup near the Diomedes Painter and the Jena Painter. Tondo: Sparta. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 9.15 **VP 47**: Ullastret (Gerona) Museum 1486. *Lekanis* lid in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Khryse, Eunomia, Eukleia, and perhaps Nikopolis. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.17 **DR 1**: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden RO.III.95. Relief from a treaty (?) document (*IG I*³ 148), showing Messana (?). Photo: Museum.

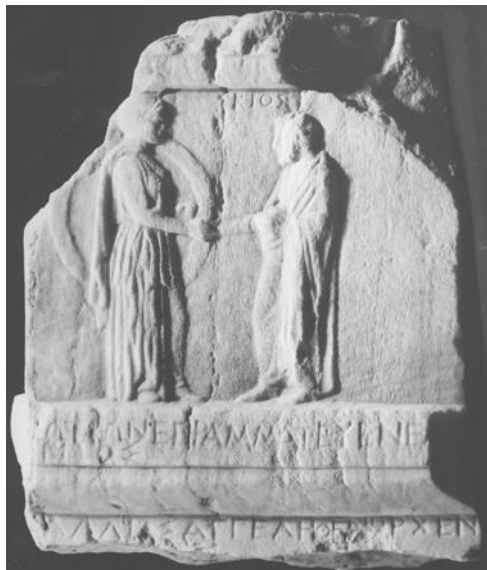


Fig. 9.18 **DR 4:** Athens, EM 6928. Relief from a document concerning Bithynian Kios. Athena and Kios. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.19 **DR 5:** Athens, Agora I 7121. Relief from a decree in which Athens honours King Euagoras of Salamis (Cyprus), showing Salamis (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 9.20 **VP 69:** St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. Kerch *pelike* with ribbed handles, by the Eleusinian Painter (name vase). Side B, detail (lower right): Makedonia (?). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 10.1 **VP 61:** Athens, NM 20044. Panathenaic prize *amphora*. Side A, top left: Statue of Eirene and Ploutos. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 10.2 **VP 60:** Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 2670. Panathenaic prize *amphora*. Side A, top right: Eirene (or Tykhe?) and Ploutos. Photo: Author.



Fig. 10.3 Berlin Museums F 2661: *Khou*s, with trefoil lip, attributed to the Group of Athens 12144, showing Ploutos at a tripod (ARV² 1321.3; *Add^p* 363; BA 220548). Photo: Museum.



Fig. 10.4 R 3: Athens, NM 1343. Votive relief, showing Agathe Tykhe. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 10.5 VP 70: Once Naples, Hamilton Collection 1476. Plate. Perhaps Ge, Dionysos, and Hermes. Drawing after Tischbein, 1795: 3, pl. 8.



Fig. 10.7 VP 59: Istanbul Archaeological Museum 2576. Kerch *hydria* attributed to the Helena Painter. Ge with Ploutos (?), surrounded by Eleusinian divinities. Photo: Museum.

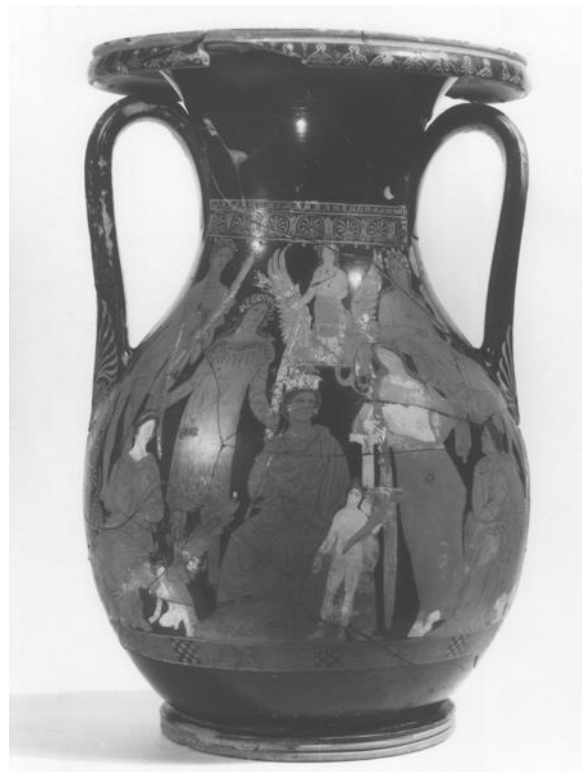


Fig. 10.6 VP 69: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum Паъ. 8. Kerch *pelike* with ribbed handles, by the Eleusinian Painter (name vase). Side A: Demeter and Ploutos among others. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 11.1 **R 4:** Athens, AM 4069. Relief decorated statue base. Agathos Daimon, Agathe Tykhe, and Philia (?). Photo: Author.



Fig. 11.2 **R 11:** Athens, NM 2853. Votive relief, with a probable representation of Tykhe. Drawing after Schöne, 1872: pl. 26.



Fig. 11.3 **R 7:** Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1558. Votive relief, showing worshippers, Zeus, and Agathe Tykhe. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 11.4 **R 5:** Athens, NM 1459. Votive relief. Worshippers with Zeus, Philia (?), and Tykhe. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 11.5 **VP 10:** Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1772. Bell krater with lugs, attributed to the Eupolis Painter (name vase). Satyra, Philia, and Eupolis. Photo: Museum.